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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1953

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BRIEFS

SLOVAK STUDENTS' FOREIGN SCHOLARSHIPS--Of the more than 1,200 scholarships available to Slovak students in foreign countries, almost 60 percent come from the USSR and represent 63 colleges in 13 cities. Almost half of the 695 students follow studies in technical fields, natural sciences and about one-third social sciences. About 180 students study technical subjects, social sciences and agriculture in Hungary. Over 146 students study at 11 colleges in 8 cities in the GDR, mostly in Leipzig, Dresden and Marseburg, attending mostly the technical faculties. In Bulgaria, more than 80 percent of Slovak students study agriculture and food processing. Following criteria must be met by applicants for foreign studies: less than 26 years of age, very good educational record, good moral-political profile, knowledge of Russian for the USSR study and German for the GDR study and completed compulsory military service for applicants from the industry. The scholarship subsistence amounts to 90 rubles in the USSR, 330 marks in the GDR, 2,340 forints in Hungary and 120 leva in Bulgaria. The students who maintain excellent and very good scholastic record are paid after their first year of the studies up to 20 percent of their subsistence money in addition to their basic subsistence. [Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 3 Dec 81 p 1]

CSO: 2400/95

PROTECTIVE MEASURES AGAINST NEUTRON BOMB SUGGESTED

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 10, 1981 pp 4, 30

[Article by Professor Doctor Ivan Nikolov, director of the Scientific Institute of Radiobiology and Roentgenology of the Medical Academy in Sofia, and Senior Scientific Associate Georgi Vasilev: "The Neutron Weapon and Protection From It"]

[Text] The decision of President Reagan's administration to include the neutron bomb in the U. S. military arsenal was announced at a time when the peoples were hoping for the initiation of talks on detente and disarmament. The proclaimed intention is to deploy this new mass destruction weapon in some Western European countries and eventually to use it in battle under the imaginary pretext that the neutron bomb is not a strategic but an ordinary tactical weapon for defensive rather than offensive purposes. This decision has been noisily publicized by the American mass information services, which depict the neutron bomb as just about the most humane weapon of this century.

Following are the views of two noted Bulgarian scientists from the Institute of Radiobiology and Roentgenology, who were asked by the editors to comment on the nature and effect of the neutron bomb and on protection from it.

The neutron bomb belongs to the so-called "third generation nuclear weapons, the first two being the atom and hydrogen bombs.

The neutron bomb has four main striking factors: the shock (explosion) wave; light radiation; penetrating radiation (gamma radiation and neutrons); and radioactive contamination.

Penetrating radiation -- neutrons and gamma rays -- can spread over a considerable distance, striking at living organisms which have survived the shock and heat waves. In the case of a 10 kiloton explosion, the lethal radius (the distance at which penetrating radiation is lethal), is about 1 km for gamma rays and 1.2 km for neutrons; in a 1 megaton blast it is about 3 km for gamma radiation and 1.5 km for neutrons.

The biological effect of gamma radiations and the neutrons is related to the ionization they create in living tissue. Both types of radiation are indirectly ionizing, i.e., they do not cause ionization directly. The gamma quanta take the

electrons out of the electron shield of the atoms and it is these electrons that are the cause of ionization. The neutrons interact mainly with hydrogen, which is an important component of the biological tissue (about 10 percent). The strike propels the energy of the neutrons to the hydrogen nuclei, resulting in bouncing electrons and gamma radiation. The released protons are a direct tissue ionizing agent. The development of these processes depends on the energy of the neutrons.

Neutrons with a great variety of energy charges are released in a nuclear explosion, ranging from a few electronvolts to several megaelectronvolts. The characteristics of the structure of the biological tissue, the high hydrogen content above all, create conditions for the neutrons to have a considerably greater biological effect than gamma radiation. This is expressed in terms of the so-called "relative biological effectiveness." In the case of the neutrons, it varies from two to 10, depending on their energy. With equal doses, the biological effect of the neutrons is stronger by a factor ranging from two to 10. Thus, for example, the lethal neutron radiation doses range from about 2 to 4 Gray, i.e., they are considerably lower than in cases of gamma radiation.

Depending on the radiation dose, the radiation disease may assume various forms, raging from light, with 1 Gray (for gamma radiation) to death from radiation in a few days in the case of doses ranging from 6 to 100 Gray. With even higher doses the so-called ray death, i.e., death in a few minutes, takes place. In cases of radiation within the lethal range (2-8 Gray), the organism may survive and radiation illness may disappear gradually. Residual and latent consequences of radiation, however, are inevitable. They affect virtually all systems of the human body. The symptoms included headaches, loss of memory, general weakness, increased susceptibility to various diseases, intensive aging, development of sclerotic processes, endocrinal disturbances, permanent pathological changes of the skin, etc.

The sexual glands are severely damaged, leading to sterility, high incidence of stillborn children, deformities, and mental and physical degeneration of newborn children. The sharply increased likelihood of the development of malignant lethal tumors is particularly characteristic of radiated organisms. To this day, such effects are still noted and continue to cause casualties among the survivors of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki atom bombs and the victims of experimental nuclear tests conducted by the United States in the Pacific in the 1950s.

It is against this background that the Pentagon strategists are trying to present the neutron bomb as humane. The neutron bomb is a nuclear system whose main and essential purpose is the destruction of humans with a maximum preservation of installations, buildings and other material values. It attacks exclusively living organisms.

In the neutron bomb the blast and light radiation are greatly reduced at the expense of penetrating radiation -- neutrons and gamma rays. The latter account for 95 percent of the total energy released by the blast. A variety of engineering and physical solutions are used in order to achieve such results. Some synthesis and fission nuclear reactions yield a higher number of neutrons and gamma quanta, while the kinetic energy is reduced. Reactions with some heavy nuclei, such as Californium, are possible, or with a so-called "subcritical mass" with an additional source of neutrons for the purpose of maintaining the reaction. The blast wave may be reduced and radiation increased by reducing the thickness of the shield of the

nuclear charge. The result is a bomb with a so-called "zero shielding" which is different from conventional nuclear systems in which the shielding is as strong as possible so that it may prolong the explosion time to the maximum and thus to gain more substance, raise the pressure and increase the shock wave.

Naturally, the press does not inform us of the precise reactions to the neutron bomb. It is known, however, that these reactions develop far more slowly than those caused by conventional nuclear systems. The neutron bomb is a relatively "quiet" weapon without the huge ball of fire and the huge mushroom. Naturally, there is fire and destruction, but on a very limited scale. The Western press has reported that nuclear neutron charges with a stre effect of about 10 square km are being prepared. This means that the lethal radius would be about 1.7 km. It has also been reported that in all likelihood, such a system would be used not on an isolated basis but in clusters of 24 bombs, which means that the lethal radius will be about 5 km. Despite the tremendous area which will be affected by the lethal radiation dose the destroyed and possibly burned down area will not exceed a few square meters. Buildings and installations remain virtually intact, while the people are killed.

The residual radioactivity in the area is relatively weak and is caused mainly by short-life secondarily induced radioactive isotopes. After a few days, radioactivity drops so drastically that the area is once again safe.

The term "neutron bomb" comes from the fact that about 80 percent of the striking effect of penetrating radiation is caused by neutrons. The bomb may be taken to the target by cruise missiles which fly very low above the ground and are difficult to hit by enemy defenses, or through other means such as air-to-ground missiles, artillery shells, aviation bombs and ballistic missiles. Like all nuclear weapons, the neutron bomb is a typical weapon for nuclear aggression, which can be used at all stages of a combat operation.

Protection from neutron radiation is based on the familiar principle of "screening defense." People must hide in shelters or other protective installations, whether special or adapted. The characteristics of the interaction among neutrons and the substances they go through must be taken into consideration in the selection of shielding materials. As we pointed out, neutrons interact particularly actively with hydrogen nuclei.

That is why hydrogen-containing substances, such as water, paraffin and concrete, are extensively used in protection from fast neutrons. In practical terms, protection from penetrating radiation in a nuclear explosion may be provided by moist dirt and concrete. For example, a 25 cm-thick concrete layer reduces the neutron dose tenfold; a 50 cm-thick layer lowers the neutron dose 100 fold. The addition of bits of iron or iron ore to the concrete substantially improves its shielding properties not only in the case of gamma radiation but of neutrons as well. A two-layer shield consisting of a 25 cm layer of packed dirt and 25 cm-thick concrete wall reduces the neutron dose by more than a factor of 1,000. The shielding property is improved by adding boron or boron compounds to the protective materials, because boron can capture the slow neutrons. Twin-layer screens consisting of paraffin and lead or paraffin and steel are particularly effective against the neutron flow. They may be used in the building of special protective equipment and screens.

Naturally, the introduction of the neutron bomb will face the Civil Defense System with major medical, organizational and tactical problems, which must be studied extensively with a view to the organization of effective protection. The best defense, however, is the energetic struggle and opposition on the part of progressive peace-loving forces aimed at preventing the production and use of the neutron bomb, which would inflict indescribable suffering to millions of people.

5003

CSO: 2200/28

MEASURES TO IMPROVE CIVIL DEFENSE TRAINING OUTLINED

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 10, 1981 pp 6-9

[Article by Lt Gen Dobrin Dimitrov, deputy chief of Civil Defence of the Bulgarian People's Republic: "Practical Skill Is the Main Feature of Training"]

[Text] The decisions of the 12th BCP Congress are the new embodiment of the party's April line. They apply to all areas of life of the party and the country, and call for creativity and daring in reaching new heights in the building and defense of socialism. After assessing the difficult international situation, the congress decided that in the future steady concern and attention must be devoted to means for strengthening the country's defensive power as well. This means above all that the combat power of the Bulgarian People's Army must be increased and, along with it, the readiness of civil defense as an inseparable part of the complex set of defense and protection measures necessary at the present stage in the development of means of warfare and military concepts.

The expediency of this party requirement was confirmed even more strongly lately, after the decision of the U. S. President on the production and stockpiling of the neutron bomb. This sinister weapon, whose purpose is mainly the destruction of people, is now being rattled by the warmongers. The plans to use it in a "limited nuclear war" are essentially an attempt to lower the nuclear threshold, i. e., to bring the world closer to a new world war.

That is precisely why the party's efforts to increase the defensive power of the country, manifested in improving army training and civil defense, are fully justified. In recent years, as a result of the party's concern, many successes were achieved in the training of staffs, services, formations and the population in carrying out defensive assignments under difficult circumstances. The leading and command personnel and the staffs and services are organizing the training process with increasing skill and efficiency. The ways and means of training are being improved at all civil defense levels.

Thousands of manages, chiefs and commanders attended courses and received proper training at interokrug civil defense schools. The personnel of the various formations, part of the population and the students improved their practical training as a result of tactical-drill training and exercises and in comprehensive exercises conducted by enterprises and obshtinas. The "Prepared for Civil Defense" review dedicated to the 1,300th anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian state

and quiz shows for students and population training groups proved to be effective practical training methods.

More effective methods, such as demonstration exercises, explanations with subsequent demonstrations and exercises, practical training classes and others, are being applied in instructing the various categories and groups of trainees.

There has been a considerable improvement in training activities as a result of the increased methodical skills, better material support facilities, and effective political, ideological-educational, agitation and propaganda work. Managers, chiefs, commanders, specialists and the thousands of fighters in the formations and working people in cities, villages and national economic enterprises have changed their attitude and are making greater efforts in civil defense training. Such training is becoming an imperative of the time in which we live and is developing as a responsible nationwide project.

This year, many collectives organized their civil defense training effectively. Training within the civil defense system of entire departments, such as the Ministry of Public Health, Ministry of Light Industry, Ministry of Public Education and others is being successfully carried out. Positive results were achieved in this direction by entire okrugs such as Plovdiv, Varna, Stara Zagora, Pleven, Sofia City, Gabrovo, Pernik and others. High training results were achieved by the Stara Zagora, Kazanluk, Pleven, Svishtov, Plovdiv and other obshtinas. Good training achievements were scored by many enterprises, which are making skillful use of ways and means leading to greater practical results. This applies to the Lenin SMK [Construction and Installation Combine] in Pernik, Vitosha DIP [State Industrial Enterprise] in Sofia, G. Genov VTK [Foreign Trade Combine] in Gabrovo, G. Dimitrov OTsZ [Consolidated Cement Plants] in Kurdzhali, D. Blagoev KTsM [Nonferrous Metals Combine] in Plovdiv, APK [Agroindustrial Combine] in Slivo Pole (Ruse Okrug) and others. These successes are a good beginning and a base for raising the standard of the civil defense training process even higher.

Nevertheless, shortcomings are still allowed to occur in training work, hindering the acquisition of lasting practical skills and the ability to organize defense work and the training of staffs, services and formations for operations under complex conditions, the use of mass destruction weapons by the enemy, natural disasters and major industrial accidents.

In the case of many staffs, services, formations, training groups and other units this is not achieved mainly because the most effective ways and means of training are not sufficiently used; training is not sufficiently aimed at practical results. In some areas, the implementation of tasks and steps for training formations and the population suffers from formalism. In many civil defense courses training consists of lectures or talks. Training problems are not sufficiently related to resolving practical problems of the defense of the population and the national economy, mastering the ways and means of individual and group defense and training for SNAVR [Rescue and emergency damage repair work] under complex wartime circumstances and in the case of natural disasters and serious industrial accidents.

The inability of some okrugs to make effective use of facilities and equipment in the conduct of rescue operations and the unskillful and imprecise use of many formations in such operations became apparent in the struggle against natural

disasters at the start of the year. This proved that the practical training of the formations was insufficient. The same fact was confirmed by the many comprehensive obshchina target exercises and the review-competitions in civil defense activities among secondary school students.

Instructors in civil defense courses, chiefs, commanders and heads of training groups are not always able to direct the trainees properly toward acquiring practical skills in the course of their training.

Unquestionably, the formations, the population and the students were able to acquire the required minimum of theoretical knowledge of basic defense and SNAVR problems during the preceding training stage. A certain level of training and readiness of staffs, services, formations and the population in conducting successful rescue operations in the case of enemy attack has been attained. However, this training does not meet current requirements, when the formations and the population may be asked to operate under very difficult circumstances such as areas of combined strikes.

The only way to upgrade the training standard is to reorganize the training system and to make decisive changes in it above all by intensifying the practical aspects in all types of civil defense courses, and in formations, population training groups, schools and VUZs. This calls for improving the training process mainly from the qualitative viewpoint. This is entirely possible, for the necessary prerequisites to this effect already exist. Considerable organizational and methodical experience has been acquired. Civil defense courses have been strengthened. The instructors' skills have been improved and they are able to set the tone in the struggle for following a practical direction in student training. Training facilities have been enlarged. They are being steadily improved and make a practical orientation in training the various units possible. In this respect rich experience has been acquired by the USSR Civil Defense System, as reflected in the periodical VOYENNYE ZNANIYA, an experience we too could use.

What must be done in order to follow a practical direction in the overall training process during the new school year?

Above all, the command-teaching personnel in civil defense schools must improve the organization and implementation of practical work in such a way as to help in the overall training of staffs, services and formations through the leading cadres they train. The substance of each topic or exercise must be found, for it has a definite value in improving defense and gaining the practical ability to act in difficult circumstances.

In the forthcoming instruction-methodical rallies which will be organized by staffs and services at all levels, the training must be such as to contribute to the greatest extent possible to the practical interpretation of the topics to be covered. This will make it possible to master most thoroughly the ways and means of doing successful work in a stricken area and under difficult peace-time circumstances. This method can be used not only at the beginning of the school year, for staffs and services in all departments, economic trusts, plants and obshchinas will have the opportunity to organize and guide chiefs, commanders, heads of training groups and instructors throughout the year in setting up displays and

providing instructions on how to choose topics and training themes and how to ensure their best possible coverage in order to reach the best possible practical results.

The assessment of each training class attended by formations, training groups and students must be based on its contribution to the practical activities of the trainees and to their ability to carry out defense assignments and to engage in rescue operations. In assessing the results of the socialist competition, it would be expedient to take into consideration mainly the ability of troops and commanders to carry out practical assignments in defense and rescue work. Naturally, lectures and talks will be given on some theoretical problems. However, they must be used skillfully and must encourage the trainees to work harder to acquire the necessary practical skill.

Meeting the norms for various activities offers great opportunities for developing practical skills during training. Both the meeting of the norms and the preparations for meeting them during the training period create conditions for work on a number of practical aspects related to seeking shelter, use of personal defense kits, giving first aid, decontamination, putting out fires and many others. It would be expedient for the command personnel to plan such training and to struggle for the full implementation of the plans.

Available training facilities will have to be used even more fully and efforts will have to be made to ensure their expansion and improvement, so that the training of any unit may feature practical aspects and help the troops, students and working people to acquire the skills they will need in organizing defense work or operating in a stricken area.

The creative work which staffs, services, chiefs, commanders, managers and instructors must do to support and direct the training process must be developed to the maximal extent. Such an approach will enable them to implement the urgent task of giving a practical direction to training and to achieve new successes in civil defense training and preparedness within a short time.

5003

CSO: 2200/28

PROFILES OF LOCAL CIVIL DEFENSE LEADERS

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 10, 1981 pp 24-25

[Report: "Rewarded for Services to the GO na NRB [Civil Defense of the Bulgarian People's Republic]"]

[Text] Most of the life of Boris Ivanov Nichev, chairman of the Vratsa Obshtina People's Council has been inseparably linked to the development and strengthening of the economic stability of the city and the conurbation system. This has been consistent with his training. After completing a construction technical school he attended the Karl Marx Higher Economic Institute, where he majored in industrial economics. He attended the 2-year Higher Party School in Moscow and successfully defended his thesis for candidate of economic sciences. He then spent several years in responsible positions in industrial projects and at the Vratsa Okrug BCP Committee and the trade unions.



Boris Ivanov Nichev

For the past 5 years, Boris Nichev, chairman of the obshtina people's council has also been head of the obshtina civil defense system. This is a responsible and difficult duty which requires the use of the knowledge acquired in the specific area of preparations for the protection of people and material values under critical circumstances. He did not fail. He brought the conurbation system to a leading position in the okrug and deserved the high award presented by the GO command.

It is a pleasure to discuss GO problems with Boris Nichev, bearer of the "For Services to the GO na NRB" badge, first class. He can describe the course of the competition in the various services and formations, the active role he plays in resolving some problems, moral incentives and the methods used to develop a high feeling of duty in troops and commanders, in detail and knowledgeably. In this city of the chemical industry particular attention is paid to readiness for rescue operations under difficult circumstances caused by industrial accidents or the elements. Boris Nichev has frequently faced the obshtina people's council with this perennial problem and made the necessary decisions on improving the readiness of the staffs and formations for action under such circumstances. Suffice it to recall last year's natural disasters, when torrential rains were followed by floods and interruptions of water supplies and electric power. Skillfully headed by the chairman of the obshtina people's council, the civil defense formations did their duty. He names the Gavril Genov Machine-Building Combine, the Vratitsa State Cotton Weaving Combine and the chemical and cement combines among those which proved their high ability to act under critical circumstances.

Boris Nichev's example as GO chief has enthused the mayors within the conurbation system, who are also working actively for its defense. That is why GO activities have reached a high standard in the Vratsa conurbation system which has maintained a leading position in the okrug for a number of years. In recent years, the red challenge banner of the okrug staff has been awarded to the Vratsa conurbation system on several occasions.

On the initiative of its chairman, the executive committee of the obshtina people's council has adopted a system for encouraging champions in GO training. This may be one of the reasons for GO successes and for the high-level activeness of the people.



Aleksandur Videnov Bozhilov

The regular training of the formations in an enterprise took place at the GO training grounds in Sofia's Kirkovski Rayon. The excellent simulation conditions were made as realistic as possible. Fires broke out, bomb explosions shook the rayon, victims moaned and called for help. People in GO uniform, wearing gas masks,

could be seen through the smoke. Medical unit personnel carrying first aid bags hurried to give first aid and save the lives of those buried under the "wreckage."

Aleksandur Bozhilov, rayon GO staff inspector in charge of communications and announcements, confidently operated the panel from which all of these effects were controlled. Everything here has been made according to his own design, including the building and electrical engineering facilities. His long experience in the GO system helped him to implement a long-planned idea. Today, the training grounds have an area perfectly fitted for the psychological training of the personnel. Sound effects were very difficult to achieve. However, with the help of specialists from the feature films studio in Sofia this difficulty as well was successfully eliminated. Now, in addition to sound recordings, the simulation control panel can generate more than 25 different types of action in various parts of the grounds. A simple push of a button (depending on the purpose of the training) can generate fire or smoke and the sound of an explosion in front, behind, on the side or under the feet of the soldier. It is also possible to simulate a nuclear strike area, something which considerably facilitates the work of officials in command-staff training or exercises. That is why this area, which is the result of his persistent searches, ambition and creativity, can make a great contribution today to the development of mental firmness in the rayon personnel on the level of modern requirements.

Aleksandur Bozhilov properly realizes that regardless of the accuracy of decisions made by chiefs and commanders, nothing can be accomplished properly unless they are related promptly. That is why he makes sure that the communications equipment is always ready and that the people who handle it are perfectly trained. Bozhilov considers malfunctioning equipment anywhere an exceptional event.

A restless and curious person, together with Vasko Vasilev, his colleague in Mikhaylovgrad, Bozhilov undertook to create a radio transmission center. This improved the quality of rayon communications considerably. Currently, he is at work on a system for the remote control of equipment through a radio channel. All of this -- from idea to implementation -- is carried out during the time which remains after checking the sites, giving instructions, teaching class, and helping performers. It is thus that, day after day, for 20 years, this respected GO worker has been dedicating his work and knowledge to the highly noble and responsible GO work.

People who hate stagnation may be found in any labor collective. They live and work in such a way as to be always among the leaders. Such is Petur Shishkov, civil defense chief of staff at the Todor Kableshkov Plant in Panaguyrishte. For the past 20 years he has held this position with legendary zeal and love. The noble feeling of responsibility which guides all of his actions is worthy of emulation. He may have inherited the devotion to his work, order and obedience from the old people of Panaguyrishte of whom he is the worthy heir. Or else, these may be the qualities and habits he acquired in the border troops, where he spent his army service.

Petur Shishkov has been employed at the plant as an accountant since 1957. Shortly after his appointment, the plant management became aware of his qualities as an organizer, his ability to lead people and his high personal discipline. He was entrusted with the duties of plant civil defense chief of staff.



Petur Delchev Shishkov

It would be hard to determine the number of problems resolved under Petur Shishkov's tenure as chief of staff. However, the successes which were achieved in maintaining the state of readiness of the formations are quite visible. The formations are structured on the basis of plant shifts on the initiative of the chief of staff. This has increased the effectiveness of the training process sharply.

If you were to ask Petur Shishkov which are the leading formations at the plant he would unhesitatingly mention the fire-fighting crew headed by Atanas Karakonchev and the medical units headed by Anka Uteva and Penka Ogarelkova. They regularly take part in city and okrug competitions and always end up in leading positions. The other formations also train conscientiously. It was no accident that last year the Todor Kableshkov Plant took first place in the city and second in the okrug in civil defense training.

A while back, when downpours flooded the Luda Yana River bed and the plant was threatened with flooding, the formations responded to the alarm signal and mounted an uneven struggle against the elements, in which the will power, skill and preparedness of troops and commanders were tested. The prevention of the disaster and the rescuing of valuable property proved that the efforts invested in regular good quality training and concentration on practical results had paid off. The confidence of the chief of staff was given practical confirmation. His efforts were properly appreciated by the plant, the party committee and the management. Petur Shishkov has received many moral and material rewards for his dedicated work. He is the bearer of the badge "For Services to the GO na NRB" second and third class.

According to engineer Angel Dimitrov, director of the Plovdiv Okrug Communications Service, in civil defense training and exercises the other services can simulate actions while the communications system must always function in real terms. Perhaps that is precisely the reason for the successes achieved by the okrug's Communications and Announcements Service he heads. For many years, this service has remained the champion in the civil defense socialist competition. This year, once again the service was named okrug champion.



Angel Ivanov Dimitrov

GO personnel from various parts of the country and from some fraternal socialist countries frequently visit engineer Angel Dimitrov with whom they share progressive experience. What new things can they see here? The shelter in the building where the service is located serves also as a civil defense training center. It includes modern and fully equipped classrooms where the trainees may hear a lecture, study a specific topic, or watch a training film or slides on formation activities under critical circumstances. Helped by the creative spirit and initiative of Ivan Denev, chief of staff of the service, Comrade Dimitrov has given his full cooperation to the making of thousands of color slides and several GO training motion pictures with the help of the local formations. The premises also include a shooting range of the OVTPN. In one of the premises visitors may note the ready individual kits of every employee. Each kit contains the carefully packed equipment which the GO worker will have to carry in the case of sudden alarm.

The center is visited and used by a number of enterprises for GO training purposes.

Engineer Dimitrov takes great care to maintain the equipment and the siren-notification system in the okrug in order and in a state of constant readiness. Regular training and exercises are conducted with a view to improving personnel training. By virtue of the nature of their work, the personnel of the communications formations are in contact with all okrug enterprises and establishments and enjoy general respect. That is why everyone was sincerely glad and presented their congratulations when the solemn announcement was made that they had been declared the winners of the okrug GO socialist competition and that engineer Angel Dimitrov, head of the okrug Communications and Announcement Service, had been awarded a high distinction: the honor badge "For Services to the GO na NRB" second class. Today, everyone takes the Communications and Announcements Service as a standard, which imposes even stricter obligations on its chief.

5003

CSO: 2200/28

BULGARIA

GLOSSARY OF CIVIL DEFENSE TERMS

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 10, 1981 pp 27-28

[Reference: Selected Specific Civil Defense Terminology and Most Frequent Errors"]

[Text] Term and Most Frequent Errors

Map, Table,
Chart, Etc.
Acronym

Civil Defense

GO

Organization of the protection of the population and the national economy (not "organization and protection of the population and the national economy")

OZNNS

Rescue and emergency damage repair work (not "rescue and immediate damage repair work")

SNAVR

Center of combined strikes (not "combined (comprehensive) strike center")

OKP

Center of nuclear strike (not "nuclear center of strike")

OYaP

Center of mass contamination

OMP

Center of biological contamination (not "biological (bacteriological) center of contamination")

OBZ

Center of chemical contamination (not "Chemical center of contamination")

OKhZ

Center of chemical contamination with industrial poisons (not "chemical center of contamination with industrial poisons")

OKhZPO

Combat toxic substances

BOV

Toxic substances

OV

Organophosphoric compound	FOS
Organophosphoric substance	FOV
Sanitary-chemical laboratory	SKhL
Departmental chemical laboratory	KhL
Chemical reconnaissance instrument	PKhI.
Microbiological laboratory	ML
Radiological group	RG
Radiological laboratory	RL
Mobile chemical laboratory (not "field chemical laboratory")	PKhL
Fuelling station	ARS
Automatic hot-air degassifier	AGV
Army chemical reconnaissance instrument	VPKhR
Semiautomatic chemical reconnaissance instrument	PPKhR
"Communications and Announcement" (Service)	SO
"Order and Security" (Service)	RS
Fire fighting safety service (not "fire safety service")	PO
Accident rescue service	ASS
"Shelters and Covers" (Service)	SU
"Water Supply and Sewerage" (not "Water Mains and Sewerage")	V I K
"Power Supply and Blackout" (Service)	ES
"Radiation and Chemical Defense" (Service)	RKhZ
Permanent washing center	SUP

Organophosphoric compound	FOS
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"Power Supply and Blackout" (Service)	ES
"Radiation and Chemical Defense" (Service)	RKhZ
Permanent washing center	SUP

Clothing decontamination center	SOO
Transport facilities decontamination station	SOT
Material and technical procurements	MTS
Automatic gas warning indicator	AGS
Antiradiation shelter	PRU
Filtering and ventilation systems at hand	PFVU
Oxygen insulation instrument	KIP
Air danger	VO
Danger of radiation contamination	ORZ
Air danger all-clear	OVO
Veterinary and plant protection reconnaissance	VNRZR
Disinfection-showering installation	DDU
Disinfection-showering motor vehicle	DDA
Violent toxic substances	SDOV
Stable toxic substances	UOV
Unstable toxic substances	NOV
Individual protection kit	IZP
Individual degassification kit	IDP
Special treatment center (not "sanitary processing center")	PuSO
Surface active agents	PAV
Fuelling station	ARS
Medical support detachment	OMO
Medical unit	SD

Medical center	SP
Medical control point (not "medical control post")	SKP
Antiepidemiological detachment	PEO
Antiepidemiological group	PEG
Hospital complex	BK
Main hospital	GB
General surgical hospital	OKh
Traumatological hospital	Tr
Burns hospital	Iz
Therapy hospital	T
Infectious diseases hospital	I
Neuropsychiatric hospital	NP
Reception and triage ward	PSO
Light casualties gathering center	PSLP
Temporary light casualties gathering center	VrPSLP
Okrug transfusion hematology center	OTsTKh
Distribution post (not "distribution point")	RP
Mobile pharmacy supply group	APSG
Automotive medical column	ASK
Medical distribution point (not "medical distribution post")	MRP
Specialized medical assistance group	GSMP
Hygiene-epidemiological inspection	KhEI
Medical-sanitary defense	MSZ

Hospital complex administration

UNK

Hospital complex administration group

GUBK

Expressions:

Close formation ranks (not "formation ranks are formed")

Civil Defense Chief of Staff (not "Chief of Staff for Civil Defense")

Chief of Radiology Control Service (not "Chief of Radiological Control Service")

5003

CSO: 2200/28

HERBICIDES -- EFFECTIVE MILITARY WEAPON

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 10, 1981 pp 32-33

[Article by Engineer Ilich Efremov: "Herbicides -- Helper or Enemy of Man?"]

[Text] The American imperialists used herbicides as a chemical weapon for the elimination of farm crops during their aggression in Vietnam. The nature of the active agents they contain, methods of delivery to their targets and means of use make them very similar to classical war poisons. The only difference is in the target -- in this case the vegetal organism.

Like any other chemical weapon, herbicides are a factor which must always be taken into consideration, for they can be used in a variety of ways, depending on the enemy's targets.

The public's insufficient familiarity with many phenomena related to the use of herbicides in military operations calls for supplying some information on this problem.

Combat Properties of Herbicides

In terms of characteristics and possibility of utilization, herbicides may be classified among the means for mass destruction of plants. However, their direct effect may also result in manpower losses or substantial drops in efficiency.

According to a group of world-famous specialists, who were asked by the United Nations to conduct extensive research in this area, a substantial number of herbicides may be used as war chemicals for the destruction of plants -- as defoliants and dessicants. They cause the fast defoliation of forests and are an excellent means of detecting personnel and combat materiel concealed in forests or among other vegetal species.

At the time of their use, the herbicides are disseminated over wide areas, water surfaces and animal and human production facilities. This may cause mass poisoning in humans.

A characteristic of herbicides is that they can remain in the air, on the ground or on various objects for very long periods of time. Most of them settle and last 2-3 months or, in the case of some of them, years, for which reason areas treated with herbicides remain contaminated for long periods of time. Herbicides may be

classified into two groups according to the nature of their influence on vegetation: total (general), which destroy all vegetation, and selective, which destroy a specific species only.

The division of herbicides into total and selective, however, is arbitrary, for depending on the amount used they may have either a total or a selective effect.

Under peace-time conditions, total herbicides are used when the destruction of all vegetation becomes necessary, such as on roads, yards, landing strips, embankments, canals, abandoned sites and railroad tracks.

According to their effect, herbicides are classified into contact and translocation types.

Contact herbicides destroy only the area exposed to them. For this reason, in some cases plants may survive, new shoots appear and the vegetation is renewed.

Translocation or systematic action herbicides penetrate the plant's organism through its circulatory system. Such herbicides, regardless of whether they have affected leaves, stems or root only, rapidly circulate throughout the surface and ground parts of the plant and cause its destruction.

The struggle against perennial weeds would be inconceivable without such herbicides.

In some cases, the chemicals used as herbicides are known as sylvicides -- used in the destruction of forests; arboricides -- used to kill trees and bushes; defoliants -- which cause leaves to fall before the harvest; algicides -- used for the destruction of harmful weeds; and dessicants -- used for dessicating plants.

Defoliants and dessicants are similar to contact herbicides. Contact herbicides frequently act as defoliants and dessicants. Either can be used in combat operations for the purpose of locating enemy camps and targets.

Based on chemical stability, herbicides can be classified into very stable -- with a breakdown time into nontoxic components of more than 2 years; stable -- with a decomposition time of 6 months to 2 years; moderately stable -- from 1 to 6 months; and unstable -- decomposing into nontoxic components within 1 month.

Herbicides can be classified into four groups according to toxicity and average lethal dose: first group: $LD_{50} = 1-50$ mg/kg; second group: $LD_{50} = 50-250$ mg/kg; third group: $LD_{50} = 250-1,000$ mg/kg; and fourth group: $LD_{50} = 1,000-5,000$ mg/kg.

Toxicity is one of the most important characteristic of the effect of a specific herbicide on living organisms. Toxicity depends mainly on the property of the herbicide to react to various biological substances.

A substantial number of initial data must be available in assessing herbicide toxicity, due to their varying effects. The effect of herbicides on the respiratory system depends on their concentration in the air and the duration of their contact with the organism. This dependence can be expressed with the formula

$$D = c.t,$$

in which c is the concentration of the herbicide in mg/m^3 , and t is the exposure time in minutes or hours.

The effect of the herbicide on the human organism depends on the volume of inhaled air. It can be determined roughly on the basis of the following criteria: in a state of rest, 8 l/min; in walking, 30 l/min; fast walking, 40 l/min; running 200 meters, 70 l/min.

Therefore, the actual amount of herbicides inhaled by a person may be computed with the following formula:

in which c is the concentration of the herbicide in mg/l ;
 t is the time of exposure in minutes; and
 v_z is the average speed of replacement of the air in the lungs in l/min.

In the case of unprotected people, the herbicide usually settles on their clothes, shoes, weapons or hands, from where it can pollute the body itself. Herbicides may enter the organism through the consumption of polluted food or water.

Depending on the absorbed dose and on a number of other factors, herbicides can cause severe illness, damage vitally important parts of the body or cause death (loss of hearing and hair, drying the milk in nursing mothers, increasing the frequency of spontaneous abortions, etc.).

There are data showing that some herbicides (such as 2.4-D and 2.4.5-T) have teratogenic or mutagenic effect on the offspring. Cases of increased number of newborn children with congenital defects have been noted in Vietnam as the result of such influences. Experimental tests have shown that absorbed in a dose of 100 mg/kg live weight, the commercial chemical 2.4.5-T was lethal in 80 percent of the experimental animals.

In the case of mass use of herbicides, specialized GO formations and facilities must be used for decontamination operations. In all cases, it must be remembered that herbicides do not destroy material objects but that they penetrate into various facilities, buildings and shelters with the polluted air and cause not only poisoning but negative mental reactions as well.

The medical formations must be properly familiarized with the toxic effect of herbicides used as chemical weapons. They must apply specific antidotes and measures based on symptoms in treating human and animal casualties.

A surprise destruction of farm crops in an area in which population and animal nutrition has not been organized in advance with a view to dealing with critical situations may have catastrophic consequences. All of this proves that in an eventual war the use of herbicides as weapons would create a number of problems because of their toxic effect not only on people but on domestic animals, game, birds and fish. In the final account it is the human organism that faces the biggest threat.

5003
CSO: 2200/28

IMPLEMENTATION OF SOCIAL AGREEMENTS ASSESSED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Sep 81 pp 1, 3, 4

[Information received by the Polish Press Agency (PAP) from the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs]

[Text] Through PAP we have received extensive information from the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs which discusses implementation of social agreements: the understandings from Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzab, as well as many others

The information emphasizes that the total costs of fulfilling the commitments that were made will amount to over 1,400 billion zlotys by 1985, of which 607 billion zlotys will have to be expended in the immediate future. In the part pertaining to wage regulations, changes in collective contracts, and shortening of working time, there is a reminder that as of November 1st, last year, all employees received wage increases. At the same time, the basic minimum wage was increased to 2,400 zlotys a month. On January 1st of this year family allowances for working families with minimum incomes were increased.

Working time was shortened. This year, the government is to negotiate a 40-hour workweek with the trade unions.

Work on the preparation of new collective contracts is going on. They will go into effect after January 1, 1982 and in some occupational groups changes in these contracts have already become effective.

The chapter pertaining to social services emphasizes that the retirement age for certain employment groups has been reduced. The number of persons belonging to category 1 employment will be greatly increased and the retirement age for persons employed under conditions that are particularly unhealthy and arduous will also be reduced.

The first stage of increases in annuities, disability pensions and family pensions has already begun. It is expected that in the future the "old file" benefits, annual increases in benefits paid, etc., will be eliminated.

In discussing problems of health and social welfare, the information from the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs emphasizes that in 1981 outlays for this purpose will increase 36 percent.

Further on the information deals with activities relating to improvement in working conditions, housing construction problems, market supplies, and particularly food articles. Separate chapters deal with matters relating to the activities of the independent, self-governing trade unions and commitments of a general nature.

The information from the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs emphasizes that "the broad democratization of public life and the consistently conducted process of social renewal, in their scope go beyond the liberally formulated agreements--and were acknowledged by the Polish United Workers Party at its Ninth Congress to be a lasting achievement of the working people in Poland".

The actual execution of the provisions of the "social agreement", however, will require a reversal of the crisis events in the economy and the active support of the government in these activities on the part of the trade unions. "Yet," we read in the text of the information given to us, "despite various declarations, including declarations made at the time the agreements were signed in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzab, the government has not really obtained understanding and active support for economic activities. During the entire past year a state of tension has existed as a result of the various pressures and demands, protests and campaigns, conducted by elements of "Solidarity". This has a very negative effect on the socioeconomic stabilization of the country and on the ability to fully implement the agreements."

(The full text of the assessment of the implementation of the social agreements is given below.)

At the turn of August and September 1980 in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzab, representatives of the government and representatives of the striking workforces signed a protocol of understanding acknowledged to be a social agreement.

At a later period, commissions acting upon the authority of the government or the individual ministries, signed a series of understandings regulating wage and social conditions in the subsectors. Due to the breakup of the union movement and the complex social situation, several detailed understandings and protocols of decisions of a local nature were signed in the ministries with the trade unions or the strike committees. The central idea of the subsection and local understandings complies in principle with the protocol from Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzab, or is a detailed extension of the protocol. In addition to the protocol from August 1980, the understandings in Rzeszow and Ustrzyki Dolne and the March 30, 1981 declaration are of national importance.

The talks between the government and the working contacts between the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs and the headquarters of the trade unions fulfill an important role in the implementation of social agreements and the shaping of the relations between the government and the trade unions. The government, in all of these talks, has demonstrated good will, the will to concentrate all social forces to bring Poland out of the socioeconomic crisis. The obligations resulting from the social agreements are being implemented, and in a number of matters they even go beyond these agreements. In view of the state's deteriorating economic situation the fulfillment of these obligations is becoming more and more difficult and their effects in the sphere of wages or an increase in free time do not produce the proper social satisfaction.

In accordance with the agreements signed in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzab, a decision was made to increase the wage fund by 260 billion zlotys. This sum included a wage increase for all workers and also in annuities and pensions. Other social benefits were also increased and the working time was reduced. The total cost estimate for the agreements made shows that their implementation will cost over 1,400 billion zlotys by 1985. Part of these costs, something like 800 billion zlotys, especially those pertaining to housing and social construction, will be spread out over a 5-year period, however the costs of bonus increases, social benefits, and private farmers incomes, amounting to about 607 billion zlotys, will fall in the immediate period.

Thus these are serious liabilities, whose repayment will require a reversal in the crisis occurrences in the economy. An improvement in society's standard of living is dependent simply and only on economic results--the results of the work of all the people.

The agreements in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzab were in the nature of bilateral obligations. They were signed taking into account the declarations of the strike committees and counting on the fact that the new social climate, the idea of social agreement, will bring an increase in production efficiency and labor productivity, and a growth in the national income.

Unfortunately, it happened otherwise. Production fell, and especially dangerously so in the extraction industry, and the national income is shrinking rapidly. The compliance with social and wage commitments is more and more difficult, and at the expense of a deceleration in the development of the economy which is a threat to Poland's future. Social tensions, the intensifying crisis phenomena in the economy, jeopardize Poland's reliability as a partner in economic cooperation. They undermine our international position and limit the freedom of the government's economic maneuvering. The Polish People's Republic (PRL) authorities have also undertaken a series of measures to implement agreements in the social sphere. The broad democratization of public life, the consistently conducted process of social renewal, in their scope go beyond the liberally formulated agreements--and were acknowledged by the Polish United Workers Party at its Ninth Congress to be a lasting achievement of the working people in Poland.

The independent and self-governing trade unions are freely developing their activities. Their active support in the difficult work of leading the country out of the crisis is anticipated. However, despite the various declarations, including the declarations made during the signing of the agreements in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzab, the government has not actually obtained understanding and active support for economic activities. During the entire past year a state of tension has existed as a result of the various pressures and demands, protests and campaigns, conducted by elements of "Solidarity". This has a very negative effect on the socioeconomic stabilization of the country and on the ability to fully implement the agreements. Contrary to the agreements in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzab and to the union's statute, "Solidarity's" bulletin, leaflets and posters sometimes undermine our allies, the party's leading role in the state, and the PRL's political principles. Campaigns undertaken by some elements of "Solidarity" bear the mark of a deliberate attack on state institutions and economic and administrative authorities. They limit their ability to function, therefore they are aimed to weakening and paralyzing the authorities. This cannot help but affect the efficiency of their operations, their efforts to overcome the crisis, and by doing so, to improve the living conditions of society.

The government has assumed a partnership relationship with the trade unions, a relationship in which there is place for a difference in opinions, even for protest actions, but in which the primary goal can only be the good of all of society, the good of the People's Republic. The Polish people have placed and continue to place great hopes in the social agreements. The government wants to fulfill these expectations. But this is possible only if both sides implement the social agreement and focus all their efforts on solving the most important economic problems, on the constructive cooperation of all social forces in the country. The obligations ensuing from the social agreements concern the following groups of problems:

1. Wage regulations, working time, and changes in collective working contracts.
2. Monetary social benefits.
3. Health protection and social welfare.
4. Working conditions.
5. Housing construction.
6. Market supplies, and particularly food articles.
7. Activities of the independent, self-governing trade unions.
8. Obligations of a general nature.

The material contains an assessment of the implementations of decisions of national importance embodied in the Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzab agreements, according to the accepted record, and also an assessment of the financial results ensuing from implementation of subsector agreements.

1. Wage Regulations, Changes in Collective Contracts and Problems Relating to Working Hours

1. Wage Increases

The decision was made to institute gradual wage increases for all working groups and above all for those earning the minimum wage. In accordance with the agreements signed at the Gdansk Shipyard, the government is obliged to make an analysis of wages in all subsections and present, by October 31, 1980, a program of wage growth from January 1, 1981, as agreed-upon with the trade unions, for those at the minimum wage level, taking into account families with many children.

In the Jastrzab agreement the date for beginning the implementation of general wage increases was determined to be the fourth quarter of 1980. In the Hard Coal Mine (KWK) "Manifest Lipcowy" agreement it was also determined that beginning with January 1, 1981, a ceiling for minimum and maximum wages will be designated.

Detailed recordings on wage increases are contained also in ministerial and subsector agreements.

Implementation

Council of Ministers Resolution No 81/80, dated September 6, 1980, specified the date and amount of wage increases for all those employed in the socialized economy. As of November 1, 1980 all workers were covered by the increases. At the same time the basic minimum wage was increased to 2,400 zlotys per month.

On January 1, 1981 family allowances for low-income families were also increased.

Proposals for further changes in the system of family allowances are, since January 1, 1981, in the hands of the trade unions for consultation.

On the basis of the preliminary analysis of the establishment of a social minimum, the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs has prepared a proposal fixing the lowest remuneration for normal working time for workers in the socialized economy. The draft of the Council of Ministers Resolution in this matter is, as of January of this year, being coordinated with the trade unions.

As to maximum wages, it is proposed that their level be regulated by means of an equalization tax. Proposals on this are being discussed with the trade unions. The spread in the workers' earnings was decreased as a result of past wage regulations, which allowed for an increase in the lowest wage rates while the highest basic wage rates of workers paid monthly remained unchanged.

2. The Social Minimum and Compensation for Growth in Living Costs

It was agreed in Szczecin that by December 31, 1980 a social minimum will be determined and announced publicly. According to the Gdansk agreement the government was committed to prepare, by the end of 1980, the principles of compensation for an increase in living costs, taking into account the problem of a social minimum. These principles should be submitted for public discussion and, after agreement, put into effect.

Implementation

In January of this year drafts of Council of Ministers Resolutions on the following matters were sent to the trade unions for consultation:

-- on determining and examining changes in the social minimum, and

-- on compensating for increases in living costs.

After consultations with the trade unions, on August 10 of this year the Council of Ministers passed a resolution on the principles of determining and examining the social minimum. At present work is going on on determining the social minimum for working families as of the third quarter of this year and for families of private farmers. The calculated social minimum will be helpful in making decisions on wages and social benefits as well as on compensation for growth in living costs.

3. Travel Allowances and Separation Supplements

The Szczecin agreement provides that beginning January 1, 1981 the travel allowance will be increased. The government will present a proposal on this matter by September 30, 1980. It was also agreed in Gdansk that the separation supplement will be increased, with the date for submitting a proposal to be no later than October 31, 1980.

Implementation

After several months of consultation with the trade unions, on April 17, 1981 the Council of Ministers passed:

--resolution No 78 on benefits for workers who are temporarily transferred, in which the supplement for separation was fixed at 100 zlotys for each day at the place of temporary employment;

--resolution No 79 whose most important provisions are an increase in the travel allowance to 100 zlotys per day, and in the lump sum payment for hotel accommodations (outside of Warsaw) to 70 zlotys, and equalization of fare entitlements.

4. Working Time

It was agreed in Gdansk and Szczecin that by December 31, 1980 the principles and the method of implementing a program for introducing free paid Saturdays or another method of regulating the shortened working time will be prepared and presented. The records in Gdansk show that this program will provide for an increase in the number of free [nonwork] paid Saturdays as early as 1981.

However, in Jastrzab it was determined that all free Saturdays and Sundays for miners will begin with January 1, 1981. The principle of voluntary work on the statutorily free days will be unconditionally observed, beginning with September 1, 1980.

Implementation

As a result of the agreement by the government and the NSZZ Solidarity National Consultative Commission (KKP) concluded on January 30th of this year, the following principles and methods of shortening the working time were accepted:

a. A 40-hour workweek and an 8-hour workday are accepted as the ultimate standard for shortening the working time and as a general standard. Workers who now have a shorter work schedule will retain that schedule, with the exception of workers employed under conditions that are injurious to health and are arduous, whose working time will continue to be gradually reduced.

Separate principles apply to miners, in accordance with the agreements signed in Jastrzab.

b. The time for reaching the 40-hour workweek standard will be negotiated by the government with the trade unions this year.

c. For 1981, the introduction of a 42-hour workweek was agreed-upon and this working time standard can be applied, after coordination with the trade unions, to the detailed subsector problems dictated by the specific nature and type of work.

5. Collective Labor Contracts (UZP) and Industrial Subsector cards

The Gdansk and Szczecin agreements provided that changes will be made in the cards of the dockworker and health service worker. As a result of subsector agreements made later, it is expected that changes will be made in collective labor contracts and subsector cards in most sectors of the national economy.

Implementation

In talks with KKP NSZZ "Solidarity" it was agreed to postpone the application of new collective labor contracts until after January 1, 1982. This principle has not yet been finally coordinated with the remaining trade unions. Preparatory work for changing collective labor contracts in the ministries is going on. Despite the earlier agreements with certain occupational groups (longshoremen, printers, teachers, woodworkers), both "Solidarity" as well as the other subsector unions demanded that changes be made in collective contracts as early as this year.

Such changes were made in relation to certain occupations (most recently in August of this year), determining, at the same time, that no further wage movements should occur this year.

In the protocols for collective labor contracts, the nightwork differential in most subsectors was increased from 15 to 20 percent for persons working permanently on a shift schedule. For persons working mostly only on the night shift (e.g., bakery workers) the night differential was increased to 30 percent. In most subsectors a differential amounting to 10 percent for two-shift work was also instituted.

Comments

The combined effects of the increase in social benefits remunerations and the shortened working time are estimated to cost on the order of 225-260 billion zlotys annually. This amount includes the sum of about 77 billion zlotys resulting from ministerial agreements.

The basic problems resulting from agreements in the area of wages have been settled. Further wage increases will be dependent upon economic results and the management of funds after January 1, 1982, as the longterm program of wage policy and changes in collective contracts are implemented. Economic reform will create the conditions necessary for greater independence of enterprises in this area.

As pertains to health service workers, there has been no agreement on working time for doctors. The trade unions are demanding that the workweek be reduced below 40 hours.

II. Monetary Social Benefits

1. Lowering of the Retirement Age

The government commission decided that it was not possible under the country's present demographic and economic circumstances to fulfill the demand made by the Inter-Factory Strike Committee (MKS) in Gdansk that the retirement age for women be lowered to 50, and of men to 55, or after 30 years service in the PRL for women and 35 for men, regardless of age. At the same time it declared that this matter may be brought up for discussion in the future.

The MKS in Gdansk demanded that this matter be examined by December 31, 1980 and that the possibility of earlier retirement (by 5 years) by workers employed under arduous conditions (age 30 for women and 35 for men), and in the case of particularly arduous conditions, by at least 15 years, be considered. This should take place at the request of the worker.

However, the government commission in Jastrzab accepted the demand of the MKS that the retirement age of the miners working underground be lowered to 50 years and the retirement age of the remaining miners be lowered by 5 years. Also the principle of allowing full retirement to workers who have worked underground for 25 years regardless of age was accepted. These demands will be submitted to the PRL Sejm [parliament].

Implementation

On December 31, 1980 the Council of Ministers' decree on the retirement of drivers of certain mechanical vehicles, which provides for a gradual lowering of the retirement age for truck drivers, bus drivers and streetcar motormen, as well as drivers of vehicles that have the right of way. However, the demand made in Jastrzab by MKS on lowering the retirement age for underground mine workers from 55 to 50 cannot be met in one stroke, for this would cause a very great reduction in mining employees (by about 43,000 miners). Therefore, the Ministry of Mining has proposed a gradual reduction in the retirement age for miners. Based on this proposal and after consultation with the PRL Sejm commissions and the trade unions, a draft of a Council of Ministers resolution has been prepared which is now being coordinated in all its particulars.

A draft of a Council of Ministers' decree has been prepared and submitted for consultation which changes the decree relating to the first category of employment. The change will add about 200,000 persons to category 1. On July 1, 1981, a draft of a Council of Ministers' decree was submitted for consultation which deals with the retirement age of certain groups of workers employed under conditions that are injurious to the health or arduous.

Furthermore, the material prepared by the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs (MPPISS) titled: "Fundamental Directions of Change in the Annuity-Pension System", contains a proposal on making it possible to obtain early retirement in particularly justified social situations. It pertains to a further reduction (to age 55) in the retirement age of workers whose work demands particular physical and mental efficiency (e.g., divers, flyers), for workers in category 1 with long years of service, and for group 1 and 2 disabled persons.

This material was sent to the NSZZ Solidarity National Consultative Commission (KKP), the Consultative Commission of the Subsector Trade Unions, and the Autonomous Trade Union (AZZ) Executive Committee. Thus far a joint position has not been worked out.

2. The Size of Annuities and Pensions

In Gdansk, in reply to the demand that the annuities and pensions from the new and old files be equalized and the increase in livings costs be considered, the government commission's declaration was accepted, which stated that an increase in minimum annuities and pensions will take place each year in conformity with the country's economic capability and that increases in minimum wages will be taken into account. The government will present an implementation program by December 31, 1980.

The government is preparing a proposal to raise the minimum annuities and pensions to the so-called social minimum, based on research conducted by the appropriate institutions, made available to the public, and submitted for inspection by the trade unions.

The Szczecin agreement stated that after the state's budgetary capability is examined, the minimum annuities and pensions will be raised to the proper amounts effective January 1, 1981.

Implementation

On January 1, 1981, by Council of Ministers' decrees dated September 6, 1980 and December 16, 1980, annuities, disability pensions, family pensions awarded before January 1, 1976, and benefits not exceeding 3,000 zlotys awarded to the end of 1979, were increased 500 zlotys (the first stage of the increase); benefits awarded during 1976-1979 amounting from 3,000 to 5,000 zlotys were increased by 300 zlotys, or 400 zlotys. Farm pensions awarded before January 1, 1978 were raised by 400 zlotys, or 300 zlotys. Supplements for wives of annuitants and pensioners in families with incomes up to 2,000 zlotys per person were increased to 400 zlotys. Supplements for children of annuitants and pensioners were increased on the same basis as family allowances for workers.

In the "Fundamental Directions of Change in the Annuity-Pension System", prepared by the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs, provisions are made for eliminating the benefits from the "old file", instituting the statutory principle of annual increases in benefit payments, adapting the closest benefits to the changing social minimum, and reducing the disproportions in the level of benefits.

3. Equalization of Family Allowances

On the matter of the demand that family allowances be equalized for all occupational groups, it was agreed in Szczecin that this equalization should occur in three equal annual instalments, and that the first instalment should be implemented effective January 1, 1981. However, in Gdansk a target date was established by which the government is to present a program of action on this matter, the date being December 31, 1980.

Implementation

The Council of Ministers at a meeting on September 6, 1980, passed Resolution No 80 on conducting a reform in the system of family allowances which was to equalize, by 1983, entitlements in this area for all socio-occupational groups. The first stage of this reform was instituted on January 1, 1981. It provides for increased assistance to families with relatively low incomes, particularly those with more than one child. In addition, directional proposals were prepared for further changes in the family-allowance system, which established the assumptions for the next two stages of increases in this allowances and to attain, in 1983, the demanded equalization for all socio-occupational groups. These proposals were sent to the NSZZ Solidarity National Consultative Commission, the Subsector Trade Unions Consultative Commission, and the Autonomous Trade Union Provisional Cooperation Committee. At present, consultations are taking place with the trade unions on these long-range solutions.

4. Paid Maternity Leaves

Regarding the Inter-Factory Strike Committee's demand in Gdansk that a 3-year paid maternity leave be introduced, it was decided that by December 31, 1980, in consultation with the trade unions, an analysis will be made of the national economic capability and a time-period and amount of monthly benefits will be established for women taking advantage of the now-unpaid maternity leave for bringing up a child. In the Szczecin agreement the time for drawing this benefit was set at 3 years, and it was further agreed that by December 31, 1980 the government will present to the Sejm a draft of an applicable modification of article 187 of the Labor Code.

Implementation

The proposals to increase the state's assistance to mothers who interrupt their work to raise a child were sent to the trade unions on September 1, 1981. They were also discussed at the meeting of the Sejm Commission on Labor and Social Affairs on February 13 of this year.

The Council of Ministers' decree of July 17th of this year, dealing with upbringing leaves, became effective on July 1, 1981. It contains the following provisions:

1. An allowance for fathers or mothers who interrupt their work for a period of 18 calendar months from the end of a maternity leave. In the case of twins, or more children born at one birth, or a child that is crippled, or a female worker who is bringing up the child alone, the allowance will be paid for 3 years.
2. The upbringing allowance is from 100 percent of the lowest basic monthly remuneration, if the income does not exceed 2,400 zlotys, to 50 percent of the lowest basic monthly remuneration of the worker, if the income is higher than 3,000 zlotys but does not exceed 3,600 zlotys, paid monthly.
3. The allowance for mothers who are bring up their children as single parents is 100 percent higher than that calculated by the rules given above.

In addition, in the draft for the updating of the Labor Code it is proposed that the maternity leave be gradually extended while maintaining the right to a maternity allowance amounting to 100 percent of the remuneration.

III. Health Protection and Social Welfare

The Szczecin agreement considered the further improvement in medical care in Poland, and particular in medical supplies and equalization of payments for medicines by the insured, to be indispensable. The Gdansk agreement regarded an immediate increase in the performance efficiency of investment, an improvement in supplies through additional import of raw materials, wage increases for all health service workers, and an immediate preparation of a program to improve the state of the people's health, to be indispensable.

Implementation

The method and the specific dates for implementing the Gdansk and Szczecin agreements were concretized in the protocol of understanding signed on November 16, 1980 with the delegation of health service workers organized in NSZZ "Solidarity" and in the attachments to this understanding, as well as in the agreement, signed December 16, 1980, with the National Council of the Health Service Workers' Trade Union.

In both agreements, 450 detailed decisions were made jointly, of which 279 contained specific accomplishment dates. Mixed working teams were appointed to prepare the concepts for executing the specific items in the agreements.

The matter which is fundamental to the development of the health service is the assurance of appropriate funds for this purpose and the implementation of investment tasks. For 1981, financial outlays that are 36 percent higher than in 1980 have been allocated for health protection and social welfare. At the same time, 2 percent of the state's investment outlays for development of the material resources of the health service and social welfare has been secured. Hospital construction is treated in investment activities on a par with housing construction. To improve the materials base more rapidly, 177 administrative buildings have been allocated thus far for health service purposes, of which 32 of the installations have already been outfitted.

According to a decision by the Government Presidium on May 15th of this year, beginning with 1982 health service and social welfare investments can be financed out of the National Health Protection Fund (NFOZ) beyond the amounts envisaged in the National Socioeconomic Plan (NPSG). On February 20th, this year, the Council of Ministers approved agreements pertaining to deliveries of medicines indispensable for uninterrupted treatment, priorities in imports for basic medicines, and systematic analyses of deliveries of medicines and medical supplies. The release of foreign currency cash in accordance with the decisions of the Council of Ministers Presidium on May 15th made it possible to intensify the import of medicines.

The Ministry conducts analyses of deliveries of medicines as they are received, based on the "basic medicines register". A draft of a program showing the minimum needs of the health service was prepared.

Work is being done on a new edition of a government program in the field of health protection and social welfare for 1981-1985. The Ministry of Health and Social Welfare has prepared a long-range program for development of the pharmaceutical industry.

Implementation of the items recorded in the agreements pertaining to health service and social welfare is, on the whole, proceeding in a timely manner.

The items in the area of wages and extension of social entitlements may eventually require revision, in view of the fact that their financial results will amount to over 10 billion zlotys.

IV. Working Conditions

1. Equalization Allowances

In Szczecin, agreement was reached on the principle that those who lost their health in connection with performing their functions in the workplant, should receive earnings no lower than those received in the previous position. The Government has committed itself to present the Sejm with a proposal of a new text for articles 217 and 218 of the Labor Code, by September 30th, 1980, in accordance with the principle agreed upon.

Implementation

The draft update of the Labor Code contains a change in articles 217 and 218. The update envisages equalization allowance payments for workers who were injured on the job or who suffered occupational illness during the entire period they remained in the employ of a given workplant. On December 23, 1980 a letter on this matter was sent to the NSZZ "Solidarity" National Consultative Commission and the Consultative Commission of the Subsector Trade Unions. On February 6th of this year a draft of the law changing the Labor Code was sent to the trade unions, ministries, voivodship offices, scientific circles and organizations and other institutions, and on May 7th a second version of the law was sent out on which talks began on May 20th with the trade unions on the professional level. At the motion of NSZZ "Solidarity" these talks were postponed to a later date.

2. Occupational Diseases

In Jastrzab a demand that anthracosis of the lungs be added to the list of occupational diseases was accepted. In addition, the principle was accepted that the inclusion of other illnesses as occupational diseases will be dependent on the opinion of the trade unions.

Anthracosis of the lungs in workers who in their work are in contact with the agents that cause anthracosis is, in accordance with the binding regulations, considered to be an occupational disease.

As a result of the many demands to add new diseases to the occupational diseases list, the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare prepared a draft of a Council of Ministers' decree on this matter. A team of experts from research institutes has been appointed for this purpose. This team will verify the demands to determine that those diseases that have a direct causal relationship with working conditions are approved for inclusion in the occupational diseases list.

The draft of the Council of Ministers' decree on occupational diseases will shortly be sent to the trade unions for coordination.

3. Training at the Expense of the Workplants

The principle was accepted in the Szczecin agreement that only workers who have distinguished themselves in their jobs and those who by reason of loss of health are forced to change their jobs, may be sent to schools for leading workers and for professional courses at the expense of the workplant. The trade unions will delegate workers to these schools and courses in consultation with the plant managers.

Implementation

The government is of the opinion that the professional qualifications of the workers must be raised in an efficient and planned manner in accordance with the needs of the workplants and that the trade unions have an appropriate role in deciding who should be sent and to what types, directions and specialties. This position is expressed in a draft of a Council of Ministers' resolution pertaining to changes in the system for training and improving workers. The new regulations will give the workplants a great deal of freedom in choosing the number of persons sent for training and also in establishing the scope of entitlements for these persons. It will also provide for the participation of the trade unions in the fair distribution of funds for this purpose. This draft is now in the hands of the trade unions for their opinion.

Because of the importance of the subject, the consultations became prolonged. To develop its position, the trade unions reached out widely for the opinions of the local elements.

At present there is a difference in positions on two matters, i.e., training that is totally separate from the work and the limits on the amounts of financial assistance granted to the worker. This matter will require further consultation with the trade unions.

4. Assignment of Personnel to Public-Service Work

It was decided in the Jastrzab agreement that effectively immediately no workers who hold permanent positions in a specific workplant may be delegated to any kind of work outside the workplant.

Implementation

This demand is in accord with the position of the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs. Functions and tasks of a social nature may not be fulfilled at the expense of the workplant. This position was also expressed in a letter on the implementation of agreements, in the part pertaining to the right to work, which was sent to the NSZZ "Solidarity" National Consultative Commission and the Consultative Commission of the Subsector Trade Union on December 23, 1980.

V. Housing Construction

It was decided in the Szczecin agreement that the government will submit a program for solving the question of housing, with the guarantee that the waiting period for housing will not be longer than 5 years. The problems of housing construction were also covered in the Gdansk agreement, but the Szczecin provisions went further.

Implementation

An inter-ministerial group prepared "Crucial Problems of Housing Policy in Poland During 1981-1985" which contained a quantitative program of housing construction and changes in the principles of implementing and financing housing construction, as well as in the allotment of dwellings.

Considering the country's difficult economic situation, the preliminary housing program specified 1,200-1,300 thousand dwellings, i.e., the level achieved during the past 5-year period. This program was developed on the assumption that during 1981-1985 about 900 billion zlotys will be allocated for housing.

The PZPR Ninth Extraordinary Congress resolution states that the share of outlays for housing construction and community and technical infrastructure should amount to at least 30 percent of the total investment outlays over a long-term period, thus making it possible to gradually increase the number of dwellings built.

The government accepted the above decision for implementation.

Present investment potential does not permit, as had been envisaged, availability of dwellings during the current 5-year period to members waiting for housing at the end of 1980. Nor will it be possible to reduce the waiting period to 5 years. Housing construction is being restricted by a lower production of cement, caused by shutdowns of cement plants due to lack of coal.

The government is taking action to thriftily manage the funds designated for housing construction. Increasing the powers of the local authorities and ensuring them greater independence will assist in achieving this goal. In a situation where the possibility of enlarging the housing program is limited, an effort is being made to make maximum use of all kinds of existing reserves and local and social initiatives undertaken implement housing construction in all its forms.

In order to make the housing policy more effective, legal acts were issued defining new and more advantageous principles of implementing and financing socialized construction and financing single-family housing, and allotment of dwellings.

In view of the fact that the basic form of satisfying housing needs will continue to be cooperative construction, to prevent an increase in the indebtedness of the population by reason of obtaining dwellings, important changes have been made in the principles of financing this construction. The bank credit amortization granted for construction of cooperative tenant dwellings has been increased from one-third to one-half of the debt. The principle has been applied that additional costs arising from construction of housing on sites that have been damaged by mining, and, in some cases, the additional costs arising from having to build special foundations for buildings, will not be included in the membership's costs for housing construction.

In addition, the forms and conditions for the state's financial assistance in supplementing the money invested in housing and for reducing the payments on the credit granted for cooperative tenant housing, have been expanded and made more flexible. At the same time much more favorable credit requirements have been established for financing single-family construction--by increasing the amount of credit granted the persons involved.

Consultations are now taking place on the drafts of the principle of having the workers conduct single-family construction, as submitted by the Consultative Commission of the Subsector Trade Unions.

In addition, the principle of allotting allocated-quarters and functional housing was defined, at the same time calling attention to the application of the principle of openness, thorough examination of the comments and observations that are made, and on increasing social control in the allotment of dwellings.

VI. Improvement in Market Supplies With Special Consideration to Food Articles

The Gdansk and Szczecin agreements accepted a settlement on improvement of meat supplies as of January 1, 1981, resulting from an increase in the profitability of production, a restriction of export to an indispensable minimum, and an increase in the importation of meat. It was also agreed that by December 31, 1980 a program will be developed for improving meat supplies, taking into account that a ration card system may have to be introduced. Furthermore, it was agreed that all scarce, domestically produced, commonly used articles will be withdrawn from the PEWEX (Domestic Export Enterprises) shops. In the Jastrzab agreement it was decided that special-privilege coupons for desirable commercial goods will be eliminated and that also supplies of these goods would be increased.

Implementation

The government's activities concentrated on making it possible to increase the profitability of farm production, give agriculture more means of production, and to better develop the land. Activities in this area both at the turn of 1980-1981 and recently as part of the implementation of the settlements from Rzeszow and Ustrzyki Dolne and settlements made before the Central Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations (CSKIOR) Congress, will not bring positive results until the next few months and years.

The drop in deliveries of many basic commodity groups essential to the population defines the market situation.

This is the result of poor harvests of farm crops in 1980, and thus of the drop in farm animal population and also a serious drop in industrial production.

Emergency steps were taken to lessen the social burden of the deteriorating market supply situation, particularly as to distribution of food articles; however, despite the application of a meat rationing system it has not been possible to provide deliveries at a level which would fill the rations completely and at the required times. This made it necessary to temporarily reduce the ration by 20 percent. The following principle measures were taken to stabilize the market:

Meat deliveries from imports during the first six months of this year totaled 25,000 tons. For the second six months foreign-exchange funds were ensured to import 108,000 tons, of which 50,000 tons came from PEWEX funds. Supplies of flour, groats, flakes, noodles and rice, both from domestic sources and from import, were increased. The increase amounted to 230,000 tons as compared with 1980. Domestic supplies of fats were supplemented by imports, for a total amount of 86,000 tons, of which 6,000 tons was from PEWEX funds,

tons was from PEWEX funds, making it possible to obtain a 1980 level of supplies. The lower supplies of animal fats and butter were compensated by deliveries of margarine and oil-- higher by about 20,000 tons. As the market situation deteriorated, and especially the supplies of food items, it was decided to expand rationing.

Decisions on rationing were first consulted with the broadest possible circles of society and the trade unions, as well as with the Sejm Commission for Domestic Trade, Small-Scale Production and Services.

Although the application of a rationing system ensures equal distribution of the commodity mass across the entire country, it does not eliminate the difficulties in obtaining basic food articles in the amounts specified in the ration standards, particularly of meat and poultry.

In order to ensure the indispensable amounts of food for children and youth in summer camps, great organizational efforts were made to guarantee the participants the necessary food supplies and articles of personal hygiene.

In previous years the trade unions gave far-reaching assistance in organizing and financing the summer camps and scout camps. This year, in view of the much lower interest in this subject by the elements of NSZZ "Solidarity", the burden of organizing and financing the camps fell to a much greater degree on the state administration.

However, it was not possible to ensure such supplies for the workers' vacations. Supplies of unrationed goods were transferred from the large urban centers to tourist areas.

The following additional measures should be mentioned:

-- The decision made by the Government Presidium on June 5th of this year designating all of the foreign-exchange receipts from PEWEX for interventionist purchases of market goods and components for the production of such goods. Out of these funds the market will receive 50,000 tons of meat, 6,000 tons of butter and bacon, 1,000 tons of cheese, and personal hygiene articles.

--The anticipated increase in sales in PEWEX, facilitating further imports for the market and, in accordance with the agreement with the trade unions, returning to the PEWEX network by the end of 1981, sales of appealing, domestically produced, nonfood items.

-- The coordination, irrespective of the exchange realized on the basis of annual protocols, of the purchase abroad of food articles with a market value of about 1 billion zlotys, in exchange for industrial articles.

To improve market-goods management and to more effectively protect the interests of the public under conditions of inadequate supplies of market goods, the government has appointed an extraordinary commission to combat speculation. Its task is to coordinate the activities of the proper organs so as to quickly reduce the occurrences of speculation. The controls over distribution of goods and free-market sales have been strengthened. The increased operational competence of the institutes appointed for this purpose together with the help of the trade unions and social organizations should bring perceptible results in the struggle against speculation.

VII. Activities of Independent, Self-Governing Trade Unions

In the social agreements it was regarded as advisable to appoint new, self-governing trade unions which would be genuine representatives of the working people. The agreements did not question the right of anyone to remain in the present unions, and it was envisaged that in the future cooperation between the unions would be established.

The agreements stated that new, independent, self-governing trade unions will observe the principles defined in the PRL Constitution. They stated that the trade unions will defend the interests of the workers and do not intend to fulfill the role of a political party. They will stand by the principle of social ownership of means of production, which is the basis of the socialist system existing in Poland. It was acknowledged that PZPR fulfills the leadership role in the state, and it was acknowledged that the unions, without undermining the established system of international alliances, strive to ensure the working people the appropriate means of control, to express their opinion and defend their interests. It was stated that the government will guarantee and ensure full respect for the independence and self-government of the new trade unions, both as to their organizational structure and their functioning at all levels of activities.

It was also stated that the government will ensure the new trade unions full ability to fulfill the basic functions of defending the interests of the workers, and in implementing the material, social and cultural needs of the workers. It was also guaranteed that the new trade unions will not be the object of any discrimination. It was acknowledged that the formation and the activities of the independent, self-governing trade unions comply with the International Labor Organization conventions, ratified by Poland: No 87 on union freedom and protection of union rights, and No 88 on the right to organize and bargain collectively.

Because many union and workers' organizations exist, it was acknowledged that the government will undertake the legislative initiatives pertaining particularly to the law on trade unions, the law on workers' self-government, and the labor code. It was agreed that the new strike committees may transform themselves into plant organs representing workers, such as labor committees, workers' committees, labor councils, or founders' committees of the new, self-governing trade unions.

It was decided that the founders' committees will function until the statutory election of new leadership. The government committed itself to make it possible for the new trade unions to be registered outside the register of the Central Council of Trade Unions (CRZZ). It was agreed that the new trade unions should have a genuine opportunity to publicly express themselves on key decisions determining the living conditions of the working people, the principles of the division of national income for consumption and accumulation, the division of the social consumption fund for various purposes (health, education, culture), the basic principles of remuneration and directions of wage policy, and particularly the principles of automatic adjustment of wages for inflation, long-term economic plans, directions of investment, and price changes. A commitment was made that the conditions for fulfilling these functions would be ensured.

It was agreed that a center of socio-occupational work would be formed whose task would be an objective analysis of the work situation, the living conditions of the working people, and a method of representing the interests of the workers. The center will also prepare professional reports and publish the results of its studies.

It was agreed that the new unions will have their own publications. The right to freely organize into trade unions was also ensured.

It was agreed that representatives of the Inter-Factory Strike Committee or founding committees of the self-governing trade unions, and other workers' representatives would be ensured participation in the preparation of laws on trade unions.

It was agreed that the right to strike will be guaranteed in the law being prepared on trade unions. It was acknowledged that this law should define the conditions for proclaiming and organizing a strike, methods of settling disputes, and responsibility for violations of the law. The strikers and the persons helping them are guaranteed their personal safety and retention of present working conditions.

In the April 17, 1981 protocol in Bydgoszcz it was agreed that private farmers will have the right to organize into trade unions under the same principles as workers in the socialized economy.

Implementation

The Council of State issued a resolution dated September 13, 1980 on registration of newly organized trade unions. It was confirmed by a law dated October 8, 1980 which changed the law on trade unions. The Supreme Court registered NSZZ "Solidarity" on November 10, 1980. By August 15, 1981 the Voivodship Court in Warsaw had registered 84 trade unions. The government sent a draft law to the Sejm on private farmer trade unions, on the registration of the Central Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations, and on the registration of inter-union organizations. The laws were passed on May 6, 1981. On May 12, 1981, NSZZ Private Farmers "Solidarity" and Central Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations were registered.

In accordance with the agreements the new trade unions are able to fulfill their statutory obligations, express their opinions on key decisions pertaining to the living conditions of the working people.

At the ministerial level organs have been appointed to oversee the implementation of the agreements made with representatives of the workforces. The procedure for examining and taking care of workers' demands and propositions by the organs of state administration has also been established. The status of implementation of the concluded agreements is periodically assessed by the government. The chairman of the Council of Ministers has informed the PRL Sejm on the program of governmental action which is to ensure implementation of the agreements.

The government's report on the status of the implementation of the Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzab agreements was presented at a meeting held on July 21, 1980. In its resolution the Sejm accepted this report, expressed its approval at the actions taken by the government aimed at fully executing the commitments contained in the agreements and on the motion of the chairman of the Council of Ministers it appointed a minister for trade union affairs and day-to-day coordination of the activities of the organs of state administration in this field.

On February 20, 1981 the Council of Ministers appointed a Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs directed by the vice chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Based on the Council of Ministers Resolution work was undertaken to prepare a new law on trade unions. Representatives of NSZZ "Solidarity", representatives of the subsector and autonomous unions, and representatives of learning and practice were ensured participation in the group which was to prepare the draft of the new law.

The draft of the law on trade unions prepared by the group was submitted to the public. This draft was sent to the PRL Sejm and is the subject of deliberations in Sejm commissions. Drafts of laws on a state enterprise and on a workers' self-government were also sent to the Sejm.

Drafts of the basic decisions concerning working people's important problems are submitted to the trade unions for their opinions. The consultations also take place by way of direct meetings of members of the government with trade union representatives. Opinions on decisions pertaining to a series of wage increases, increases in family allowances, annuities and pensions, price controls, and application of a rationing system had also been sought.

Many drafts of decisions have been submitted for opinions, including assumptions on reform of family allowances, annuities and pensions. Proposals involving economic reform, the law on trade unions, the law on a state enterprise, and the law on workers' self-government, were referred to the trade unions for opinion and were submitted for public discussion. A center for socio-occupational work was formed in the "Solidarity" National Consultative Commission. This center, using the printing facilities of the union and the publishing institute of the trade unions, publishes professional reports and other work.

The new trade unions have been given the opportunity to publish a union newspaper. A weekly, "Solidarity", with a print run of 500,000 copies is appearing and is available through the regular press distribution network. Regional offices in Szczecin, Jastrzab, Jelenia Gora, Koszalin and Plock, publish their own newspaper. The individual inter-factory founding committees of NSZZ "Solidarity" and the organs of subsector and autonomous unions publish their own information bulletins. The activities of the union and the statements of its activists are widely published in both the central and local press.

As a result of talks held in February and May of this year, NSZZ "Solidarity" matters can now be widely covered on the radio and television.

Information on current events related to the union movement has been given over Polish Radio in the programs with the largest listening audiences.

"Signals of the Day" presented from 7 to 11 items monthly. "Four Seasons of the Year" devoted one of its editions a month entirely (2 hours, 40 minutes) to such problems as: the right to strike (with the participation of union and government experts), the struggle against speculation, the possibilities of increasing food production, and social control over production.

The central programs of Polish Radio and the Warsaw Radio-Television Center present an average of 65 programs monthly on problems relating to union matters, mainly those relating to NSZZ "Solidarity" activities. These items do not include the daily reports on union activities in the Polish radio and television news programs. Union problems are also widely shown in television programs.

For example, during a 20-day period in August during the main news program statements from NSZZ "Solidarity" were broadcast seven times. In almost all programs of the "Economists Forum" series, experts from "Solidarity" and the subsector and autonomous unions take part. It is the same in the program series "Open Cards" and "Letters on the Economy".

Opinions of trade unions, including the regional ones, are presented in IMPULSY [IMPULSE], the union magazine.

Union activists, including those from NSZZ "Solidarity" broadly participate in "Studio 2" programs and programs of the Cultural Publicity Editorial Offices.

NSZZ "Solidarity" problems and the statements of its activists are widely broadcast on local television programs. The difference in opinions from NSZZ "Solidarity" stems not from lack of the union's access to the mass media, but the desire of "Solidarity" to form, in reality, its own structure, separate from the Polish Radio and Television.

Strike problems were contained in the draft on the law on trade unions. This refers to methods of settling collective conflicts, proclaiming and organizing strikes, responsibility for violating the law, etc.

The government, in accordance with the March 30th declaration, fully observes the principles for settlement of disputes as formulated in the draft of the law on trade unions. Unfortunately, elements of NSZZ "Solidarity" have frequently violated the principles specified in their own statute. A series of strikes was organized almost daily, without exhausting the means of negotiation. Protest actions and strikes were organized that had nothing to do with union activity, e.g., the protest campaign on freeing so-called political prisoners, street marches, etc. "Solidarity's" statements and publications often contain articles attacking the party and organs of state authority, demanding the removal of deputies and councillors, or changes in the electoral law for elections to the Sejm and the people's councils. The interference of "Solidarity" in filling leadership positions in enterprises and local state administrations became very common. Some union bulletins, leaflets and posters are damaging to our alliances and undermine the reliability of Poland as a member of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA.

There are cases of intrusion into the jurisdiction of the economic and state administration (for example, the blocking of goods for export).

Elements of "Solidarity" have undertaken activities which actually would have placed their activists above the law. In "Solidarity's" draft program and in many public statements by members of its leadership, a number of theses have been presented which constitute a flagrant contradiction of the social agreements, the union's statutory principles, and the recognition by its leadership of the party's leading role in the state.

VIII. Agreements of a General Nature

1. The Law on Control of the Press, Publications and Spectacles

The Gdansk agreement provided that within 3 months the government will submit to the Sejm a draft law on control of the press, publications and spectacles. Censorship should protect the interests of the State. This means protection of economic and state secrets, state security, important international interests, religious beliefs and also the nonbelievers, and prevention of dissemination of texts dealing with immorality. The draft law should include the right to appeal the decisions of the organs on control of the press, publications and spectacles, to the Supreme Administrative Court.

Implementation

The draft law on control of publications and spectacles was published and a number of discussions on the draft were conducted. The Consultative Committee of Creative and Scientific Associations, the Consultative Committee of Subsector Trade Unions, and the NSZZ "Solidarity" Consultative Committee, participated in the work during the consultation stage. Representatives of the Episcopate were also consulted. As a result of the discussion, a new version of the draft law was prepared.

The PRL Sejm passed the law, to be effective on October 1, 1981.

2. Use of the Mass Media by the Denominational Unions in the Field of Their Religious Activities

The Gdansk agreement provided that use of the mass media by the denominational unions as part of their religious activities will be implemented by way of coordination of problems of a substantive and organizational nature between the state organs and the trade unions involved. It was decided that the government will provide for radio transmission of the Sunday mass within the framework of a specific agreement with the Episcopate.

Implementation

The Joint Committee of Representatives of the Government and the Episcopate undertook its activity as a forum for the normalization of relations between the state and the church in the interests of the country's development and the unity of its citizens. Radio transmission of the Sunday mass and transmission of a Sunday mass for mariners at sea was ensured.

The mass media widely reported all of the major church ceremonies and important events in church activities.

3. Mass Media Activities. Access by the Press, the Citizens and Their Organizations to Documents Prepared by the Government and the Administrative Organs

The Gdansk agreement provided that radio and television, the press and publications, should express the various thoughts, opinions and judgments and should be subject to social control.

It was agreed that the government will substantially expand its scope of socioeconomic information and that the press, as well as the citizens and their organizations, should have access to public documents, socioeconomic plans, etc., issued by the government and its subordinate administrative organs. It was also agreed that exceptions to the rule on the administration's overt actions will be specified in the law on control of the press, publications and spectacles.

Implementation

The diversity of thoughts, opinions and judgments has been widely expressed in the activities of radio and television, as well as press and publications. No one in Poland today needs to be convinced of this. The independence and initiative of the individual editorial offices and journalists has grown. New newspapers have sprung up (e.g., the union ones) presenting various viewpoints. The various opinions of political, social and economic activists, as well as representatives of the world of science, are widely presented on important social topics. Frequently church ceremonies and statements of representatives of the Catholic clergy are presented.

The deliberations of political, social and union organizations are reported regularly. Direct television transmission from the PRL Sejm sessions has become the rule and the deliberations at the Ninth PZPR Congress were transmitted directly.

The scope of the government's, and its subordinate organ's, information for the press, society and organizations, concerning different social and economic problems, has been expanded.

The reports published by the Main Statistical Office and other forms of economic information help in serving this purpose. A report on the state of the economy has been published. Materials on the work of the government are regularly sent to the press.

A weekly "Government Monitor" is broadcast on Polish Television. It describes the major subjects on which the state organs of administration are working. The press conferences of the government's press spokesman are also devoted to these subjects.

The union's management and the socio-occupational centers receive complete statistical information so as to enable them to competently express themselves on matters within their statutory rights and obligations.

The PRL Sejm passed, in accordance with the Gdansk agreement, a law on control of the press, publications and spectacles, which had been widely discussed. Work is continuing on a law on the press which will lawfully regulate the principles of activity of the press, radio and television, and also the principles of social control over them.

4. Job Dismissals After the 1970 and 1976 Strike and the Matter of the Arrested Persons Named in the Agreement

It was agreed in Gdansk that the grounds for the dismissal of workers from their jobs after the 1970 and 1976 strikes will be investigated without delay. It was agreed that in all of the reported cases, where dismissals were found to be improper, the workers, with their consent, will be immediately returned to their jobs, taking into account any qualifications that they may have acquired in the meantime.

It was agreed also that this will similarly apply to students who were expelled.

The agreement also states that the Minister of Justice will investigate the validity of the cases of the persons arrested and named in the agreement and the annex to the agreement. It was agreed that there will be complete observance of the freedom to express one's convictions in public and in professional life.

Implementation

The Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs has defined the rights of the persons returned to their jobs, who had been dismissed for strike activities during 1970-1980. The rights of the workers dismissed for strike activities have been defined more broadly than would appear from the literal interpretation of the Gdansk and Szczecin agreements. Not only are the rights of the workers who expressed an intent to return to work defined, but also the principles of reimbursement for damages to those who do not intend to return to work at the plants from which they were discharged, and those workers who sustained losses as a result of the disciplinary penalties assessed against them. On the basis of the above rules, workplants have accepted the returned workers and paid out the benefits that were due.

As to the matter of students, four cases of former students who had been expelled were investigated. Students rights were restored to two persons and the previous decisions to expel the other two were upheld because their expulsion for political activities had no relation to the union. The persons named in the agreement and the annex to the agreement remain at large.

As pertains to the full observance of the freedom to express one's conviction, it should be said that the freedom to express convictions in public and professional life is being fully observed, and the citizens of the PRL are also obliged to observe the law in accordance with the PRL Constitution.

5. Work on Economic Reform and Expansion of the Scope of Socioeconomic Information

It was agreed in Gdansk that work on economic reform must be greatly accelerated. It was stated that during the next few months the authorities will define and publish the basic assumptions of this reform. It was envisaged that there would be broad participation in public discussion on reform with broad participation of the trade unions in work on the laws on socialist economic organizations and on workers' self-government.

The demand that leadership cadre be selected consistently on the basis of qualifications and competence, from among members of the PZPR, other political parties, and those belonging to no party, was also accepted.

Implementation

In compliance with a resolution of the PZPR Central Committee Political Bureau and the Government Presidium, in September of last year a Commission for Economic Reform was appointed, which is composed of representatives of different circles, including trade unions. This Commission prepared a draft of a reform program which was published last September and submitted for public discussion. Taking the results of

this discussion into consideration, "Directions of Economic Reform" was published which was accepted by the PZPR Ninth Extraordinary Congress and in July submitted by the government to the PRL Sejm.

As of July 1st the principles of economic reform were applied in the State Agricultural Farms (PGR) and small-scale production. The Council of Minister passed a resolution on changes in supply prices to be effective January 1, 1982. Work is now going on on a program to change retail prices and the principles of compensation as an integral part of economic reform. The application of new retail prices for bakery goods and grain products created the indispensable conditions for introducing new economic principles in the grain-milling and bakery industries. The principles of enterprise functioning in this field, in accordance with the approved directions of reform, envisaging independence, self-government and self-financing, will go into effect on October 1, 1981.

The first stage of changes in the management system has been applied, accomplishing a reorganization of the central economic administration.

A detailed schedule of work on economic reform has been prepared. It is based on the assumption that reform in the basic sectors of the national economy will go into effect on January 1, 1982.

A report on the state of the economy has been prepared, as well as the government program for overcoming the crisis and stabilizing the economy, passed by the PRL Sejm in July.

Both in work on applying economic reform and in current activities, a great deal of attention is given to the qualifications and competence of the cadre and social control over its work. This is shown by the principle of having the managers of enterprises express their opinions through the workers' self-government, the principle of enterprise independence, and thus also the broad competence of its managers. Changes in cadre were made in recent months at all levels of management, resulting in new people with high qualifications, both PZPR members, members of other political parties, as well as unaffiliated persons, in the elements of management.

The government is also concerned with providing the cadre working conditions and is against the unwarranted attacks on the cadre. The PZPR Ninth Congress has defined both long-range tasks and those arising from everyday needs, in the area of cadre policy, in compliance with public opinion.

* * *

One year's experience has shown that it is necessary to take a new and closer look at the agreements signed thus far. The multiplicity of the concluded, difficult-to-control subsector and local agreements, the social tensions connected both with their signing and their implementation, make it difficult to concentrate on the most important matters--leading the country out of the economic crisis and stabilizing social life, and creating the indispensable conditions by which the Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzab obligations may be fulfilled.

Instead of the improvement in the economy that the people have been awaiting, the past year has brought a further deterioration and thus has made the daily life of the citizens even more burdensome. It has therefore become necessary to reconsider the accepted agreements and adapt them to realistic economic potentialities and also to the new conditions arising from economic reform--to subordinate the subsector and local agreements to one, superior general agreement. The obligations agreed upon in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzab were two-sided. The government is waiting for the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union "Solidarity", which was formed as a result of the social agreements, to fully implement its obligations--to observe the statutory principles which it freely accepted.

The government is counting on being able to cooperate with all the trade unions on a partnership basis in solving today's difficult problems, and on their cooperation with each other.

Once again the government confirms its willingness to cooperate as a partner, in the spirit of policy of social agreement and socialist renewal accepted at the PZPR Ninth Congress.

9295

CSO: 2600/87

COALS, ACTIVITIES OF PEASANT PARTY OUTLINED

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 19 Nov 81 pp 1,2

[Interview with Roman Patrong, member of the secretariat of the Supreme Committee of ZSL and chairman of the ZSL voivodship committee in Wloclawek, by Aleksander Lewandowski: "We Need a Political Program and Faith in Our Own Strength"]

[Text] On the 17th of this month, at the sixth plenary session of the Supreme Committee of the United Peasant Party, Wloclawek peasant activist Roman Patrong was elected to the secretariat of the Supreme Committee (NK) of ZSL. Yesterday we talked to him about current rural problems and the activity of the party.

[Question] ZSL members are calling for the immediate convening of an extraordinary congress of the party. What views on this matter were presented during Tuesday's deliberations at the Sixth Plenary Session of the NK of ZSL?

[Answer] Actually among the members at the plenary session there was a difference of positions and views on setting the date for calling a congress of the party (part of them were in favor of shifting it even a year, stating that we needed to focus our attention on the current problems of the country), but what won out was the concept assuming that we would combine such important goals as those which we had come to recognize, such as the creation of a front of national understanding, the comprehensive introduction of laws concerning the rural areas and agriculture, and a law on people's councils and regional self-government, with a reporting and elections campaign. While it is going on we intend to discuss thoroughly the drafts of the declaration of ideas for the political program and statute of the party and at the same time to discuss all the economic and sociopolitical issues going on. The plenum decided to call a congress during the second quarter of next year. Here it must be emphasized that for a long time the Wloclawek organization has been calling for good preparation of congress documents and a well thought out concept for waging a reports and elections campaign in ZSL, and for the congress to be convened in relatively short order.

[Question] What is your assessment of the drafts of the congress documents accepted by the plenum?

[Answer] The documents are still imperfect, too broad. In this connection they should be treated merely as material for discussion. Their final shape will be determined by all the members of the party and by the congress. We are inviting all members of ZSL and of ZMW, which we consider one of the links in the peasant movement and also as our allies, to discuss the drafts. The content and rank of the declaration of ideas of the political program and statute will depend upon all of us.

[Question] The society is placing great hopes in the creation of a front of national understanding. What is your view of this idea?

[Answer] The party is calling for the immediate creation of political conditions for the formation of a front of national understanding. I think that all front participants should have equal rights, regardless of the size of their social constituency. In the party's view, there should be guaranteed in it representative participation for all genuine social forces standing on constitutional principles. Corresponding preparations have already been undertaken in the rural community. We see the need for the speedy creation of an initiative group at the voivodship level. Today's session of the Voivodship Commission for Cooperation Between the Party [PZPR] and [Other] Political Parties in Wloclawek will surely take up such an initiative. Taking into account the existing rural breakdown, in Wloclawek we have developed actions to integrate the community, conducting partnership talks with all the trade unions of private farmers operating in rural areas.

[Question] In your opinion, which of the farm problems needs to be solved most quickly?

[Answer] The rural community is waiting for the solution of two basic complex issues: from the sphere of agricultural law, which requires no material outlays but merely the acceleration of legislative and economic-production work, the weighing of price ratios and levels and the assurance of the means of agricultural production. Decisions in this area should have the nature of systems solutions. It is difficult to consider decisions on the introduction of related sales to be such.

Such solutions of a systems nature to stimulate the level of production are being drawn up, with the intention of introduction as of 1 January 1982. The party also considers it essential that there be constitutional guarantees concerning the lasting nature of private farming.

[Question] An in the activity of the party?

[Answer] They consider the most urgent matters of party work to be the consolidation of our own ranks, actions to integrate the rural community, and meeting half way all efforts to eliminate local conflicts. At the level of the Supreme Committee it is essential to accelerate our own legal work in the sphere of rural areas and agriculture and in economics and systems. The breakdown of the peasant-worker alliance and the related conflicts related thereto caused by a shortage of foodstuffs in the towns and of industrial goods in the rural areas are leading to the disintegration of society. There is an urgent need to undertake actions binding the society together through the commitment of all social forces and to expand appropriate propaganda efforts presenting rural living conditions and everyday problems of urban residents. Nonetheless, the basic condition to all this is the restoration of the economic bond between town and country. This requires an increase of production on both sides. The past level of implementation of the guidelines of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee and the presidium of the NK ZSL concerning the key problems of farm policy is inadequate. We must pass from discussions of the "green light" for agriculture to concrete actions, finally assigning certain plants to produce the means of production for agriculture. Wloclawek Voivodship has not yet noted visible results on this issue.

[Question] How would you assess the party's position at the Sixth Party Plenum?

[Answer] The ZSL is moving slowly, but it is ever more clearly becoming the real party of the peasants. We need our own political program, faith in our own strength, and the full commitment of all members, because this is where the party's strength lies.

10790

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CREATION OF YOUTH HOUSING COOPERATIVE PROPOSED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 14 Oct 81 pp 1,2

[Article by Andrzej Roginski: "Youth Cooperatives -- One's Own Roof Over One's Head"]

[Text] "I am writing to you, because I do not know whom to turn to anymore, and the question concerns my nightmarish housing conditions..." "Dear Editor: Help me! What am I to do? How am I supposed to go on living under such conditions? We are living in a place 37 square meters in size, and there are eight of us... We beg you. Help us. I have been a member of the "Young People's Housing Block" Cooperative since 1968..."

Among the hundreds of letters which come into SZTANDAR MLODYCH from our readers, those which predominate are the ones which express most painfully the writers' lack of a corner of their own, those which portray terrible housing conditions, and those which describe the many years a married couple with children must wait for an apartment. What comes through in these letters is the helplessness, the lack of hope.

Meanwhile, the line for housing of one's own is getting longer. Most of those waiting are young people paying extortionate rents for a room in somebody else's residence. The housing cooperatives have 600,000 members and 1.2 million people applying for membership, all of them waiting for housing. The number of those waiting is getting bigger. In a short time it will reach 2 million, and 60 percent of them are young people. The shortage of housing is found both in the cities and in the rural areas. The ways the housing problem has been solved in the past are proving to be inadequate. It is no wonder that the state has neglected its duties by waging a poor housing policy, inasmuch as the construction program has collapsed.

In a situation where there is a shortage of housing, we have recently noticed such manifestations of the country's economic crisis as the drastic decline in the production of cement and other building materials, finishing materials, and so on. There is going to be some wait before

we see the results of the economic reform, but the housing needs are there now.

Are we to sit with our hands folded? But one can make demands knowing full well that Solomon himself cannot get something out of nothing. Can one expect us young people to replace the state in its functions? Are we to pay rent for years for housing for our families? There is only one answer to these questions: NO!

Then what can we do? How can we shorten the time spent waiting for our own roof over our head? What sort of way can we make apartments come into being?

The editors of SZTANDAR MŁODYCH and WALKA MŁODYCH, together with the main board of ZSMP are proposing the creation of Youth Housing Cooperatives. We are treating this proposal as one of the ways to effectively get out of this blind alley. A Youth Housing Cooperative can be established wherever young people want one, in both large and small towns, as well as in the rural areas. Such possibilities already exist at present, because of the conditions created by Resolution No 22 of the board of the Central Housing Construction Cooperative Union (CZSBM), dated 6 April 1981, concerning additional cooperative housing construction carried out through the use of social initiative, and decisions by the presidium of the ZSMP main board dated 11 July 1981, concerning the creation of young people's building cooperatives and associations and patronal construction of single-family dwellings.

Of course the road before us is not an easy one: to establish cooperatives, find a location, obtain or produce the necessary materials, and find the best way to build our apartments, our houses. We think that there is the real possibility of obtaining housing within 3-4 years, and perhaps even more quickly. All we need is determination and consistent action.

There are already those people who have succeeded. In Wesola near Warsaw a dozen and some single-family dwellings were built in a year. They are the work of ZSMP members who created the Patronat-2 Cooperative Single Family Home Building Association. Before long we will be writing about how they managed it and about the absolutely unbelievably low costs. New cooperatives are already going up, for example, in Szczecinek. It is enough to have even ten people to set up a housing cooperative.

You will not remain alone. SZTANDAR MŁODYCH will

present the scenario for founding a Youth Housing Cooperative, facilitate contacts between interested parties, popularize the best experience, give assistance in breaking down barriers.

We shall public the details shortly.

On the other hand, ZSMP will give organizational and legal assistance related to the creation of a Youth Housing Cooperative and execution of cooperative tasks, that is, mainly in building an apartment or house. Even today one can ask for help and advice from any ZSMP board or go directly to the Main Board.

On your correspondence we ask you add the words "Youth Housing Cooperatives."

10790

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GRGLICKOV INTERVIEWED ON LCY CONGRESS PREPARATIONS

Zagreb START in Serbo-Croatian No 332, 10 Oct 81 pp 16-22

[Interview with Aleksandar Grlickov, member of LCY Central Committee Presidium, by Jelena Lovric]

[Text] START: One of the key points in the strategy of the 11th LCY Congress is the assessment that the democratic relations of self-management cannot undergo further effective development in society without deeper and broader democratic transformation of the League of Communists, that is, that society will not be democratized unless the party is democratized. (Thus it is that this congress confirmed not only that well-known truth that democracy lies at the very basis of our vision of socialism, but also that situation, which has several times recurred in our party's postwar activity, in which the observation that society finds itself in critical difficulties--social, economic and political--is followed by the assessment that the way out is to develop socialist self-management and to democratize society. Put more simply, that democratization is not a luxury to be left for easy times.) Certain changes in the bylaws were made along those lines at that time, and certain preconditions were achieved for more democratic activity. What can be said about the realization of those intentions and conclusions today when the preparations have begun for the 12th Congress of the League of Communists?

Grlickov: I agree with you that these stands taken by the 11th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia are not being carried out satisfactorily. There is good reason to inquire into the causes, both objective and subjective. LCY documents are not the limiting factor, whether they are programmatic, deal with the bylaws, or whatever. On the contrary. They are inspiring enough to encourage democratization of relations in the League of Communists and to initiate an extensive process of its democratic transformation. This is true of the LCY Program, for example. Nor is the structure of the membership, that is, its social composition, a hindrance either. By and large this applies to the leadership structure, to the forums of the League of Communists at all levels, though we would have to be frank about them and say that they do not correspond to the present-day needs and goals we are speaking of either in their composition with respect to age or with respect to certain other criteria. We must also alter the state of consciousness, that is, come to an awareness that self-reproduction of socialist self-management is not possible without a broad process

of democratic transformation of the League of Communists. As the leading ideological force within the system, the League of Communists requires a greater effort by the rank and file and leadership bodies in achieving democratic relations and methods within the League itself and especially in society as a whole. Stopgap measures, especially the issuing of commands and imposition from above and a one-way flow of directives do not ensure unity--wherever they are dominant--in either action or political ideology within the League of Communists as the core of the revolutionary movement, nor do they tend to improve its effectiveness. There are many causes of the underdevelopment of democratic relations and of the democratic atmosphere in the League of Communists. There are the old habits we have spoken of as well as the insufficient willingness on the part of members of the League of Communists to wage a struggle for the policy and program of their party and to win that struggle with the weapons of political ideology in a democratic atmosphere. If the 11th congress goes down in history, then it will be precisely because it issued the demand for broad democratic transformation of the League of Communists as an essential prerequisite for the democratization of society, which in turn signifies development of the fundamental principles and goals of socialist self-management. Any attempt to skirt around them will inevitably lead us astray. The 12th congress ought to go further in developing the democratic platform and its content. An assessment must, of course, be made of the present state of affairs and a more decisive course adopted toward democratization of relations and the entire internal life within the League of Communists.

START: It is an essential function of the League of Communists, together with the other subjective forces, to promote the development of self-management. If it is to be up to that task, the League of Communists must institute itself as a critical force, and to do that, it must encourage an intellectual effort, an intellectual commitment, an exploration, it must insist on its own democratization.... However: someone said at a recent meeting that it was a bad thing for the opposition to be the only critic of the system, that it was a bad thing for the League of Communists to set itself up as that entity which is supposed to defend the system, when its priority task is to develop it, to change it and to improve it.

Grlickov: I cannot agree with all the judgments contained in your question. I do not think that it is an accurate judgment that the League of Communists is defending the system (insofar as this applies to the system's mechanism, since what I mean by the system is the constitutional order--socialist self-management, and various laws, decrees and other things represent only mechanisms). If we are speaking about the system as a mechanism, the League of Communists is in my opinion the strongest critic whether we are talking about individual party members or official organs. If there is criticism which can be justly addressed to it, then it is that no organized study of what is happening in real life stands behind that weighty everyday criticism and self-criticism, nor is there always a readiness to abandon certain specific solutions which have been unsuccessful and to offer new, better and appropriate ones. Why is it that a fetish is made of some specific solution, even when it is yielding bad results? Of course, I am not insisting on haste, I respect the need for adaptation, nor do I preclude cases of resistance and inconsistency. But I think that certain very

poor solutions are often defended one-sidedly, and this relieves the subjective factors of the obligations to constantly get down to the real reasons for the gap between the solution "which embodies the system" and real life. Take, for example, the case of legalizing two means of payment (dinars and dollars) within the country, with inestimable consequences for our development, not only our economic development, but our political development as well. Prolonged insistence on specific solutions which reality does not accept, as well as insistence that the difficulties be reduced to nothing more than the inconsistency of those implementing the solution, objectively creates a distorted social consciousness to the effect that everyone is against some solution except those who worked on it and those who find some specific material benefit of their own in such a solution--whether it is a question of industries, sectors, or a republic or province. Making a fetish of every specific mechanism does not result in effective guidance of the economy, just as every specific solution does not always have to be proclaimed as the only one that conforms to self-management. This closes off the opportunity for nurturing the process of democratic reconciliation of the plurality of interests within self-management. In this domain there is room for criticizing members of the League of Communists for not having fought more decisively against the tendencies of this kind which exist. Finally, the truth is that whatever survives effectively in practice leads toward progress.

START: Some judge that the activity of the League of Communists within the framework of self-management is insufficient, that the League of Communists tends to be top-heavy in its activity, that it occupies a monopoly position vis-a-vis other participants in the sociopolitical process of decisionmaking, that it not only is not adhering to its own decision on abandonment of its directive role, but under the weight of the problems the forums of the League of Communists are beginning to operate on the principle of transmission, they are tending toward the dangerous practice of making decisions that belong to others, that they are derogating others....

Grlickov: Unless broad room is opened for expression of the plurality of interests in self-management and still broader room and an atmosphere for their democratic reconciliation, then certain powerful groups march onto the political scene, from various quarters out of a desire, in which they sometimes succeed, to impose themselves on behalf of their own interest, which is political-bureaucratic, technobureaucratic and particularistic. Members of the League of Communists are not immune to these tendencies, since they are also an integral part of the plurality of interests, and as such they themselves, in spite of the joint goals and ideals, naturally group and regroup as a function of interests. In my opinion, party members are not people who live some separate life of their own, apart from their interest and the interests of their environment. Nor are they people who have ready-made answers for everything. They experience and share the fate of society as a whole, above all that of their own community, and they are compelled to join with it in resolving the issues that are encountered. Separation from the community leads them into isolation, and that means that they are left without the opportunity to exert influence. It is here that we enter the relevant area and arrive at the realistic assessments of the monopoly of the League of Communists in the system of self-management. Wherever the monopolies actually exist, the goals and tasks of the League of Communists are not

being altogether realized or are not being realized in a satisfactory way. There are monopolies, but we would be closer to the phenomenon if we referred to them by another name--cases of usurpation. There are various types of usurpation, by various individuals and groups within the League of Communists who usurp what they can, impose themselves forcibly wherever they can. But this is not a monopoly position of the League of Communists as a whole, but a lack of democratic relations wherever such things exist. And that in turn has an impact on development of democratic relations in society and on the functioning of socialist self-management. I agree with you that in that context top-heavy activity through forums becomes the principal form of activity, and other sociopolitical mechanisms become like transmission belts. But still you cannot confidently dispute the fact that the LCY, as an organized political force, though often it is "contradictory" by comparison with other parties, has been constantly insisting on "disenfranchising" itself, on its becoming the leading political force, and not a force which commands and directs, on development of the Socialist Alliance and on a democratic dialogue within it between party members and other socialist and self-management forces. The League of Communists rightly fears its own monopoly and strives to combat that. If that endeavor is not always successful in all places and at every point and with respect to each specific case, that is only a sign that certain of its parts are not capable of mobilizing people with a socialist and self-managing orientation, since they themselves are not prepared to fight for the authentic policy and program which the LCY is offering. I see the way out through a broad democratic transformation of the League of Communists and of the entire social structure, which by a cause-and-effect relationship will guarantee a process whereby everyone would not "wait" for democratization as a "gift." Operating within the system and through it, the LCY and every member individually will themselves undergo change on the road toward their own democratic transformation. No political and intellectual energy should be spared in pursuit of those goals, but an intellectual and concrete exploration should be organized and encouraged so that members of the League of Communists and the League of Communists as a whole are always at the head of the column, furnished not only with diagnoses, but also with offers for specific solutions, strategic or tactical, technical or embodying the system.

START: Assessments concerning the situation in the League of Communists differ mainly in the degree of dissatisfaction expressed. Even the highest leaders of the party say that there is "quite a bit of failure to understand the current situation, ideological confusion, contentment with oversimple responses to very complicated questions," while others speak of "an abundance of routinism and complacency," and still others are calling for suppression of "indolence and a return to enthusiasm".... As though this dissatisfaction does not originate exclusively with that characteristic so inherent in us that we are never satisfied with what we have achieved.

Glickov: I think that we are not talking any longer about dissatisfaction with what we have achieved, which is a constructive trait of ours. This kind of dissatisfaction has been, is and will be a surge of energy for further development and progress. Our present dissatisfaction is the result of the compacted difficulties our society has been confronting in the economic, social and moral domains. The elements of crisis and the electrical charges they possess have

rightly made us concerned and indeed disturbed. Statements can be uttered in several ways as to a diagnosis of the situation, but it is the essence which is important. Accordingly, our present dissatisfaction is the result of the difficult economic conditions in the country: chronic inflation with all its political, economic, social and ideological problems; exhaustion in material development on the basis of intensive conduct of economic activity; displacement of socialist self-management by exaggerated government interventionism and a gradual penetration of statist socioeconomic relations, while quite a few moral problems have also piled up in society, problems which usually are oversimplified. And in the context of all of this we are slow to build an integrated conception--a positive program of long-range and short-term goals which would correct the shortcomings that have been discovered in our development to date and would propose the necessary changes and adaptations. A positive program which would open up more reliable prospects and would be a factor in mobilizing the working people and indeed the League of Communists itself. That is how I conceive the recently formed commission of the SFRY State Presidency in conjunction with the federal councils. We cannot merely call for sacrifices by the workingman and not open up to him a clear perspective as to when various things will be resolved. The degree of dissatisfaction varies in intensity from issue to issue and from one place to another, but dissatisfaction is characteristic today of the social and political consciousness of all of us. Is it possible for these difficulties to bypass the LCY? No, it isn't. The LCY is a part of society, it is woven into the entire fabric of life. The question that arises in this connection is this: What is it that we are carrying to the 12th congress? What do we expect of it? Is this just some "routine" or "peacetime" congress? Is it merely a congress of continuity, as is sometimes said, or a congress of renewal, of construction of a positive program to solve these accumulated problems in order to restore confidence and assurance that, as in the past, we will successfully extricate ourselves from the difficulties which now face us? This is not a mere desire, but a realistic estimate of our overall conditions, social, material and social, and also a judgment to the effect that our working people have always been ready to make sacrifices if the goals are clear and the means offer guarantees. The 12th LCY Congress should also be a congress of renewal of the League of Communists itself, a reminder of the exceptional responsibility which it has in our present situation.

START: On one occasion you said that the democratization of society depends on the "balance of power among the social forces." What does this specifically mean today? Is democratization of the party and society at all possible in view of the present lineup of forces?

Grlickov: It is always true that the balance of power of the social forces determines the content and rhythm of individual processes. Power is not abstract; it depends above all on who possesses the surplus value of labor; after that the superstructure is self-evident in our context. I take a fundamental factor as my point of departure, and this is that there is no full democratization without complete and total self-management, and the latter in turn is impossible without its material foundation. We have a phrase for that in our political dictionary--that the direct producers must take possession of the entire surplus value of labor. If that is not altogether the situation, that means that there

are also other centers of power which possess the surplus value of labor and are thereby forming a different balance of power among the social forces, and those conditions are not optimal for the quality and rhythm of democratization of society. At this point we might seek an answer to the question, among other things, of which strategies are those which speed up that process? In so doing, of course, I am not underestimating the role of the political system and of other political organizations in society. But they are derivative. They would have a different quality of influence if they did not possess material power, either directly or indirectly, if they did not have a powerful influence through the government administrative measures through which power is still very much possessed and the surplus value of labor and national income are shared out and redistributed. We have been concerned with this issue for a long time, there have been many cases of vacillation and many anemic mechanisms, and so our results are unsatisfactory. Defensive mechanisms are ineffective, and the power is settling where we do not want it, and people are becoming "powerful" even though objectively perhaps they do not want that. It is always easier to rule than to reconcile pluralized interests by democratic means and always attain the point of equilibrium in society. Nor am I underestimating the state of the spirit, of social consciousness as a whole. Translated into the language of practice, we need to fight and win a victory for our rights, and thereby our duties as well, if this process is to proceed naturally and normally like all other social processes. To wait for a "gift" means acknowledging the right to power, to usurpation, and various forms of privatization and manipulation. And the old generations, who have had their revolution, will also have to experience and carry out another one, the shaping of a democratic socialist self-managing society, which is not to mention the young people who are to carry out their own revolution in giving shape to a democratic socialist self-managing society. If we are dissatisfied with the results of the democratic transformation, and we are, that means that aside from the objective reasons, the balance of power, the state of consciousness, is not satisfactory either.

START: The principle of democratic centralism is most closely bound up with the topic of democratization of the League of Communists. You have spoken about that principle rather often: at times you have mentioned that it should be "refined," on another occasion you called for its "rehabilitation in the face of undemocratic methods and forms of activity and in the face of one-sided interpretations." On the eve of the 11th congress you said that "democratic content should be incorporated" into democratic centralism "by virtue of preparedness of the League of Communists in two directions: to tolerate both a majority and a minority within itself and a readiness on the part of the League of Communists, when it offers an alternative or specific solution, to enter into a dialogue with noncommunists to see if a better solution can be found in that dialogue." What would you say today about realizing those intentions of the 11th congress?

Grlickov: There are no new social conditions which would require abandoning the principle of democratic centralism. That is why I insisted on its "refinement," on "rehabilitation" of the democratic content as opposed to the centralistic content. In so doing I was guided, and I am guided even now, by a minimum of two positions. The first is the content of that principle, which was formulated at the 11th congress in the LCY Bylaws. I feel that democratic centralism in

the LCY has been defined in the most democratic way, better than in other communist parties. It is similar to and more democratic than the definition of certain communist parties in western Europe, who in practice do have a satisfactory degree of democratic atmosphere in relations within the party. Our problem, then, does not lie in formulation, though I do not preclude the possibility of certain additional touches, but in practice and methods of operation, in the behavior of all members of the League of Communists. And of course in the behavior and methods of leadership bodies as well. Without practice and appropriate behavior formulations may be window dressing for a practice that is quite the opposite. We have had quite a few such cases in the development of the communist movement in the world up to now, and we also have some bad experience of our own. Our views on democratic socialism make democratic dialogue possible. Practice, however, is not satisfactory. The bylaws allow for existence of a majority and minority in the League of Communists in the process of debate of party policy on all issues of social and party life. The member of the League of Communists is not required to renounce his opinion, but he is required to carry out the decision of the majority. This is the optimal political space for a democratic dialogue. But it should be recognized that neither habits nor practice are yet up to the level of the formulations, and in practice the view taken of the minority is not exactly well-meaning. There are cases when people are given a hard time. That kind of practice and the atmosphere it gives rise to are one reason why in certain communities and cases the League of Communists is not operating within the system, but as an external factor. Then the dialogue is halted, the interlocutor must listen to directives, or the dialogue becomes a monologue. And when there is dialogue, there are frequent cases of intolerance, arguments are replaced by pejorative epithets and labels. Let us return to democratic centralism. As I have already mentioned, there perhaps exists a certain room for replenishing its democratic content, but I do not see the need to transform it into some other content, as is the case, for example, with the proposals that the principle of democratic centralism be replaced by the principle of self-management or by democratic unity. In our context democratic centralism is a strong cohesive factor both of the LCY and of society as a whole. Other ideological and political forces are also concerned with the problem of the effective functioning of political parties. Of course, they do not proceed from the principle of democratic centralism as a form, but as a content; that is, they strive for the policy adopted democratically to become the obligation of all members of those parties, not just leftwing parties, but bourgeois parties as well. This is imposed by the extremely rapid development of the material productive forces, by exacerbation of the class struggle in the context of various methods which the new conditions impose, by exacerbation of the ideological conflict between the forces of capitalism and socialism and by the ideological and doctrinaire polarization within them.

START: You recently made the observation that we "seem to have exhausted ourselves in dialogue and in social criticism within the League of Communists." Why is there no dialogue? Is its dying out only a symptom, or a consequence? And what are the consequences of its nonexistence? (The poet says: Where only one wind blows, even the pines grow crooked.) What are the preconditions for establishing a dialogue? Is it sufficient for there to be two well-intentioned men, is goodwill sufficient, is it just a question of the habits not existing?

(Dialogue--someone else has said--is a test of the system, a test of its ability to confront the truth and untruth, to defend itself in a democratic way.) What do you think about the assertions of certain circles to the effect that our dialogue fell silent after 1971/72?

Grlickov: I would not say that dialogue fell silent after 1971/72. Those years were preceded by nationalistic and liberalistic euphorias in our development. Nor do I consider that a period of democratic atmosphere, either in the League of Communists or in our society. That was a period when one group in the League of Communists, in the various republics and provinces, imposed itself as a usurper in a struggle for power and domination. The thought that the nationalists were called upon as allies in the fight against unitarianism and the anarcholiberals called up in the fight against dogmatism is sufficient indication in itself that this was not a positive program for democratization either of the League of Communists or of Yugoslav society. In the history of the communist movement such alliances have always been against the communists, and our practice in those years was also against the development of socialist self-managing democracy and democratic transformation of the League of Communists. Regimentation was compulsory, and members who had their own integrity were not exactly welcome. Amalgams of tendencies of this kind have not been altogether overcome even yet, which accounts for various cases. That was a period of name-calling, of labeling, of removing the people of an opposite opinion. That was a period when a more aggressive minority dominated the majority. Finally, this was a period which took us backward on the road of democratic transformation of the League of Communists and of dialogue within it, which, though slow, had already begun. This dramatic period in our life enhanced the lack of belief in the necessity of democratic dialogue, since that kind of dialogue--a monologue such as was imposed by those groups, created the belief that dialogue is something which monopolizes, which corrupts, which usurps, and which shatters the unity of the League of Communists. Perhaps that is the reason why we are still moving slowly in this area, in spite of the other objective and subjective limits, why caution has become a characteristic of this process, why conformity has been welcome, and it has not paid off to "stick out." Objectively this has played into the hands of the dogmatic forces in suppressing dialogue within the League of Communists in society, in contesting and jeopardizing any dialogue that did occur, if not publicly, then through various ambiguities, qualifications, and even linguistic tugs-of-war. I believe that you yourself have encountered in our press public objections to and reservations about a dialogue, and that signifies opposition to the resolution of the 11th congress. I do not need to have to convince you that we suffered a lapse in the pace of opening up a dialogue. The key existential issues of our life are not at the focal center of our preoccupations, they are being skirted, or a defense is made with name-calling or simply on the basis of narrow particularistic interests. And even in that area where we have been successful--and I must say that we have achieved quite a bit as compared to what we had in the past--a democratic spirit and tolerance have not yet been incorporated. Words may be harsh, provided there are arguments behind them, and not labeled, and provided they do not attack personal integrity. The point of departure here, I think, is that there is a legitimate right to mistakes and errors. You ask me why there is no dialogue, is that a symptom or a consequence, and what are the preconditions? I would not say that there is no

dialogue. It does exist, and that against the broad background of our entire life, in the context of our highly politicized consciousness. It does not exist at places where it should—in forums, in the competent bodies. Their monologue is still the distinguishing feature, and the dialogue is so convoluted that it resembles a monologue. The situation has to be "abnormal" for a dialogue to exist as a need, since without it there is no way out. The case of Kosovo and the discussion of economic difficulties in the recent past are the best illustration of this. But a dialogue is not worthwhile only for "abnormal" situations, but also for "peacetime" situations, for making breakthroughs toward progress. In that sense the revolution is a book that always stands open, a search concerning all issues, at all levels, and in all milieux.

START: In talking about a dialogue you have spoken about people who "take care not to commit errors and mistakes"; hasn't fear been mentioned rather frequently in a debate concerning dialogue?

Grlickov: When the topic is the absence of dialogue, I feel as though the criticism is addressed exclusively to political forums. Why would the political forums bear sole responsibility for our dissatisfaction with dialogue? Is it they who have halted it, have they failed to create the institutional basis? Not that the grounds are lacking for criticism of forums and for their dialogue concerning ways of resolving particular issues, as though they were not weighed down by monologue. But let us also put the question in another way: Why is it that party members, members of the Socialist Alliance, and every last workingman does not fight to secure what has been afforded him by the constitution or the LCY Bylaws or the bylaws of the Socialist Alliance? You say, there is fear. I do not say that there is none and that at times it is not justifiably motivated, but fear has never been an instrument in the struggle for one's rights, for the goals for which a man fights, for changes of the status quo, especially for the goals in developing socialist self-management. If every generation has a right to desire its own revolution, the younger generations have a great moral goal of shaping self-management socialism, of building into it democratic content and relations.

START: You have spoken about "mild dogmatization"; and others thereafter continued concerning the "desperate pressure of the dogmatic bureaucratic consciousness," of "huge sediments of dogmatic consciousness," and that in statements by hundreds and thousands of leaders who appear to be advocating what is "constructive," but are actually "rather conservative," about the dogmatic consciousness which is derived from "absolutization of one's own particular interests...." Who are all these people and what are all these things that favor a mild or less mild dogmatization?

Grlickov: First, to answer your question about my initial conceptions concerning the content of dogmatism. Departure from the dialectical mode of thought and enforcement of Marxism as a set of canonized norms are the basis for shaping dogmatism as a mode of thought in general and of Marxists in particular. When I spoke about a mild process of dogmatization of our social consciousness, I was thinking in concrete terms of the absence of an ongoing process of adaptation and improvement of parts of the mechanism of our economic and political system

which have not "taken" in reality, which it has rejected; those which are not serving the goals of social development. When the mechanisms of the order are proclaimed to be something sacred embodying the system, a barrier is thereby set up before creative thought, since no one wants to tilt against the order, against the system of socioeconomic relations of socialist self-management. Not only is it necessary to distinguish these two concepts, this is an objective need. Mechanisms of the system may be well conceived, yet practice does not verify them; some are even yielding the opposite results from the imagined general conception, as is the case with foreign exchange transactions, for example. This process of adaptation must be an ongoing one. The process of dogmatization goes in the opposite direction, requiring that something be imposed by force on reality which is contrary to the capabilities and goals of society, both material and social. The process of mild dogmatization adds an additional burden to the overall panorama of the problems we confront. Edvard Kardelj kept those processes open, and he therefore managed to bring the mechanisms into conformity with reality and with the goals through constant improvement and adaptation. He did not "dig in," he did not "wed himself" to any mechanism of the system. That is why he cannot be tied to a single technical solution. He remains bound to his thought, as he should. To bind him to the aspiration of desiring and of having constructed a system that was entirely rounded out and contained the answers to all questions is to make a dogma of his thought itself. Not a single theoretician who has striven to build a statically closed system containing the answers to all questions has ever lasted very long. There has been vacillation about our returning to an open and ongoing process of adaptation, and we ourselves are falling into the traps of absolute and final solutions. Which accounts for the unforeseen meeting with dogmatism--be it mild or not--and with dogmatic consciousness. This exists in other domains, and in the ideological sphere as well.

START: What does the inadequacy of the democratic dialogue within the framework of the League of Communists and of the dialogue between those who are and those who are not members of the party mean for the conception of the pluralism of interests in self-management? That is, without a critical dialogue it is difficult for differing interests to be fully articulated, much less reconciled....

Grlickov: I agree with you that there is no full articulation of the plurality of interests in self-management without their open democratic confrontation in all spheres of our social life and at all levels. Without confrontation and without democratic dialogue, and without democratic reconciliation of interests in self-management, it is not possible to establish the foundation for self-reproduction of socialist self-management. One of the essential prerequisites for that is the democratic transformation of the League of Communists. It has a special place as the leading ideological and political force in society. Through its internal democratization, and that means through democratic confrontation and dialogue, it should encourage and stimulate ideas and incentives, it should offer specific solutions to the problems of social development, and that means that it should be open to all the other forces oriented toward socialist self-management, to the entire social base of society. It will become an integral part of the working people by virtue of its offering alternative possibilities, by its readiness to accept other specific solutions which are better, by

its readiness to honor and maintain criteria based on ability in personnel policy conducted in all spheres of social life, by its readiness to make itself an equal partner within the front of all the socialist forces, within the Socialist Alliance, a partner that is energetic and creative, that is capable of offering solutions for the development of society and for development of its specific milieu. Insistence on equality is also a condition for its (I am referring to the League of Communists) effective self-reproduction. Setting it up in the opposite way would be favorable to at least two shortcomings: the League of Communists opens up the process of self-isolation, and it pushes its ability to conduct political action out to the margin if not into indolence and inactivity. This process is going slow for us. We are dissatisfied, and we need to step up the pace. There is failure to understand, there is resistance, there is exhaustion, and there is even wandering afield. When you speak about politicization of interests and a policy of compromise, I believe you were referring to this situation. Not only are party members faced by a great challenge, but they also confront a responsibility, and, if I am not exaggerating, that is even a historical responsibility, if they fail to turn these adverse tendencies to their own use.

START: What we have become accustomed to call Tito's legacy insists on democratization of forums and of the League of Communists as a whole. Do the solutions adopted so far and the actions undertaken fully express Tito's idea about collective work and decisionmaking? Isn't there a danger of going round and round at the same level, without operating in the vertical direction? Isn't this indicated somewhat by the judgments (supported even by scientific research) that party members have become passive, that party organizations have become exclusive and bureaucratized, that the hierarchical model of administration has been established, in short, that party organizations have become incapable of tackling the problems of their own surroundings?

Grlickov: The system of collective leadership is only one segment of the entirety of the system and of the process of democratization of intraparty life within the League of Communists. If this is taken as our point of departure, an effective system of collective leadership presupposes democratization, and vice versa. I therefore think that reducing Tito's idea exclusively to the practice of the 1-year term of office is an oversimplification of the idea itself. If that idea went no further than that, we would have no guarantee of being able within the framework of the system of preventing collective work and decisionmaking from being bypassed, from being usurped, from the actual decisionmaking being "issued" from the forums or concentrated within them, not in the hands of all the members of the collective leadership, but in the hands of smaller groups. If this is taken as a closer and more authentic interpretation of Tito's idea of collective leadership, then the 1-year term of office has a different specific gravity. As for differences in enforcement from one republic or province to another, they do exist. In my opinion, they should in fact exist, since the conditions are not the same everywhere either. In its most recent history the League of Communists has never insisted on everybody getting organized in the same way, but has insisted that the organizations express the real conditions and needs of each. There is a danger that the idea of the system of collective leadership will be bypassed and evaded. I am referring to

your observation and fear of horizontal shifts of personnel. At the present moment, as I see it, it is more essential to introduce and "instill" an authentic democratic consciousness in the League of Communists and the idea and spirit of collective leadership. To free ourselves of those--wherever they exist--who carry out various types of usurpation and privatization, or put pressure on them, force them to adopt democratic content in practice in the system of leadership within the League of Communists. To make gradual and fundamental personnel preparations for more comprehensive deprofessionalization--I do not believe this can be complete, and I do not know whether that is possible and necessary--and that means easier achievement of the system of collective leadership, along with elimination of the adverse tendencies which have kept us company up to now. The various solutions which have now been adopted in our country will be of use to us. Passivity, silence, exclusiveness, hierarchical tendencies in the sense of a one-way flow of positions--directives, sectarianism of all types, inability to express the problems of one's own surroundings, are, in my opinion, the result of truncated democratization in the system of leadership, of a lack of democratic consciousness. I am aware of the complexity of all these questions which you raise and also of the danger of oversimplification in the answers which I am giving you in telegraphese. But even hints can be beneficial to reflection about the directions of movement, to avoiding one-sidedness in the great expectations which because of their one-sidedness could result in great disappointments. It is a question of ongoing processes, processes which already have their "start" in our overall constructive experiences and efforts to guide them toward the desired goal, in accordance with needs and objective possibilities. But for that reason party members should not await democratic transformation in the League of Communists as a "gift" from the forums, but should see it as their right and obligation.

START: Personnel policy in the League of Communists? One hears assessments to the effect that there is negative selection to leadership bodies. There is more liking for people who agree to everything than for those who can't hold their tongue. A satirist has said that the dossiers of certain successful people are full of negative opinions about others....

Grlickov: There are manifestations of negative selection in personnel policy within the League of Communists, in other sociopolitical organizations and in other organizations of the social structure. Which reasons are objective in nature, and which are subjective? How is it that selection is negative when the League of Communists is insisting on socialization of personnel policy, and the appropriate social mechanisms for achievement of that goal have been built in? Why is it that we still rightly notice manifestations of negative selection? I would not like to approach this complicated issue from only one angle, and I do not have the space to express my opinion with any thoroughness. But I still must say something. Socialization has not achieved satisfactory results, nor has it eliminated the tendencies toward negative selection--precisely because of the unsatisfactory level of democratization in overall relations. Amalgams of usurpation and privatization are still present to various degrees of strength in various milieus depending on the level of democratization achieved in the League of Communists. Were this an incidental or transient phenomenon, we would have no reasons for great concern. However, if this orients the younger generation

toward taking advantage of the insufficient socialization and the inadequate democratization of personnel policy, that is, toward using privatization as a means of getting ahead quickly and easily--that in itself should disturb us. An atmosphere is then created to the effect that one can get ahead easily by belonging to some "powerful" milieu, from an organization of associated labor to sociopolitical structures, instead of the constructive ambitions of individuals being realized through work, through knowledge, through activity and otherwise. We must part company with this as soon as possible for the sake of the future. People must be evaluated according to criteria of ability and activity. In modern society, with the goals and pretensions to the values of a new civilization, of socialist self-management, has no need for those who agree with everyone and everything, but it does need those who can be of benefit to society in progress thanks to their effort, their learning, their knowledge and their real abilities. Democratic relations are inherent in people like this, they have a large amount of tolerance and openness toward the conceptions and interests of others, and they are also ready to wage a struggle against all the forms of counterrevolution. People like that lead toward progress. Those who adapt to the "powerful" are actually in favor of the status quo. We are encountering these problems in work organizations and in the structure of society.

START: The problem of shaping authority is related to this. Is authority acquired on the basis of one's place in the hierarchy, on the basis of social power, on the basis of the (revolutionary) past, or on the basis of knowledge and ability?

Grlickov: Authority is acquired from one's place in society, but authority based on position is short-lived unless the virtues of knowledge, progress, and moral attributes stand behind it, though it is possible to exert a strong influence on social developments. A revolutionary past is worthy of respect. Great men are indeed born at the important turning points. This should not be questioned. Our practice has constructed experience of various kinds. Hierarchical evaluation of people's opinions should not be rejected a priori, though in a democratic atmosphere it must not be proclaimed an absolute; on the contrary, it should be subject to the verification of practice, which would include critical opinions. I think that capable authorities are needed by every society, including our own.

START: You have said that without practice and appropriate behavior formulations may be window dressing for a practice that is altogether the opposite. And even otherwise the conclusion is inescapable from this conversation that, to put it simply, we are strong when it comes to words, but weak when it comes to deeds.

Grlickov: It is a good thing that we are strong at least when it comes to words. Imagine what it would be if we were weak here as well, that is, if we lacked an insight into the real situation and had no visions as to possible and probable solutions for the development of our society. However, it is not a good thing when words differ from deeds, especially when this is a chronic tendency. The League of Communists of Yugoslavia has been constantly insisting on narrowing that gap. It has not yet overcome it. But that does not mean that we

should not be energetic in doing what is necessary to narrow the gap, and that means that the goals, the means and the methods should be realistic and should mobilize all factors toward their optimal achievement.

START: You constantly emphasize that democratization should not be awaited as a gift from forums, but that it should be fought for and won. What does that actually mean? Have we ceased to be combative enough as a society as a whole and also individually?

Grlickov: There can be no one-way streets in complex social development. All the goals of society have to be fought for and won. Progress has never been presented to anyone as a gift. The working class and all the working people have to fight for those goals and win them. We do not lack militance; we are well known for that; but we are excessively passive. As to why this is so, the answer would have to be more thoroughgoing. In my opinion, the goals should be formulated in a truly democratic way so that they belong to everyone. Then passivity becomes a problem exclusively of personal inclination, and not a social phenomenon.

7045

CSO: 2800/104

BELGRADE OFFICIAL DERIDES POLITICAL CLICHES

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1613, 29 Nov 81 p 2

[Letter to editor by Zivorad Kovacevic, unidentified here but known to be president of the Belgrade City Assembly: "Words, Words"]

[Text] I once read in START about an experiment, presumably facetious, by Polish students. They listed parts of sentences, which otherwise sound entirely normal and even highly intelligent, in several vertical columns and arrived at an astonishing conclusion: no matter how you mix them up and combine them, you get a whole phrase that you do not immediately realize to be devoid of any sense. In other words, we have become accustomed to reading (or skipping) whole sections of text, either not reflecting on their actual significance or regarding them as entirely natural. Il'f and Petrov [classic Soviet humorists] attempted something similar.

Resolutions are now being drafted for LCY congresses. It has been said, and rightly so, that the demands of the times are sharper and seek different political documents. Let us try something different from the Polish students' experiment: let us eliminate certain words, let us write resolutions without them. I am certain that it will be immediately clear whether or not we have, and whether or not we wish to have, something really important and specific to say.

For the time being, I nominate the following words:

1. Still more persistently, consistently, decisively, fully, principledly, organizedly, rapidly, openly (or in this combination: with still greater persistence, consistency, decisiveness, principled activity, organization, openness).
2. Has still not run its course, been completely achieved, been realized to the full.
3. Further buildup, development, strengthening, affirmation.
4. This requires the existence of conditions, activity, practice.
5. It is vital to make efforts (still greater), advance, promote, enrich, re-structure.

6. Of special, vital, decisive, particular significance.

7. To devote great, particular, exceptional attention to tendencies, manifestations, trends; and to resolving, overcoming, and superseding.

8. The presence of problems, difficulties, weaknesses, practice, aspirations, shortages.

This is not just a question of good and readable language. Many of these words are entirely in order and cannot be avoided, but in these sentence structures they obfuscate substance, are frequently untruthful, and evade an answer (ought to do more, still is not, further develop).

Of course, the words themselves are not at fault.

I ask myself what would remain of the following two sentences, taken from one draft resolution (in a group in which I work), if the above-nominated words were to be eliminated: "The League of Communists must make efforts still more organizedly and more intensively toward the further affirmation and development of the system of self-managing consensus-seeking and social negotiation so as to contribute to the perfecting of all forms of self-managing decision-making, to the better definition of their substance, to fuller involvement in the system of decision-making concerning social duties, to the faster elimination of difficulties that arise in work, and to the cultivation of self-management consensus-seeking as a social relationship.... In the accomplishment of this task, ways and means must be sought with still greater persistence and decisiveness so as to resolve faster--and overcome in practice--the difficulties and weaknesses that occur in the functioning of the system."

CSO: 2800/199

CATHOLIC BROTHERS ACCUSED OF LINKS TO EMIGRES, DISSIDENTS

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 21 Nov 61 p 4

[Article by Djuro Kozar: "What Has Been Concealed Behind NASA OGNJISTA"]

[Text] The Links of Ferdo Vlasic and Jozo Krizic, [Catholic] Brothers From Duvno, With Extremist Ustasha Emigres Abroad and How That Link Came About

When certain members of the clergy concern themselves in a tendentious way with sociopolitical issues in the church, in religious periodicals or "otherwise," when they pass over into clericalism—they inevitably inflict great damage on the faith, on believers, on themselves and thereby on society as a whole. If in addition they have links with the fascist emigre community in this matter, then this can and usually does result in hostile activity and ends up before the competent courts.

Abuse of Freedom

That is exactly what happened to Ferdo Vlasic, a brother in the Franciscan Monastery in Duvno who is editor in chief of the religious newspaper NASA OGNJISTA, and Jozo Krizic, a brother in the same monastery who is secretary of that periodical. To go back a bit, they were found guilty by the District Court in Mostar of having committed the crime of participating in hostile activity and were sentenced as follows: Vlasic to 8 years in prison and Krizic to 5 years and 6 months in prison.

The nature of their hostile skulduggery is such that on behalf of a broader circle of the working people and citizens and of our public it needs to be publicly stated what these brothers were up to in the Franciscan Monastery in Duvno, in NASA OGNJISTA, and elsewhere, and how they went about it.

These officers of the church have had every opportunity for free expression of their faith and for publication of their newspaper within the limits of what the law allows, but unlike most clergy of all faiths they did not wish to concern themselves solely with religious affairs, but—abusing that freedom—they falsely portrayed sociopolitical conditions in our country in a perfidious, ironical and negativistic way, pursuing hostile goals and thus sailing into the waters of clericalism. They had ties with Ustasha emigres, who continuously

and generously sent material and other aid for publication of NASA OGNJISTA. Vlasic and Krizic declared themselves to be opponents of brotherhood and unity and of socialist community spirit of our nationalities and ethnic minorities in their verbal expression and in the publication of certain articles.

Collaboration With Emigres

On the basis of correspondence, money orders, addresses and pseudonyms in letters and in NASA OGNJISTA, as well as statements made by individuals, it has been irrefutably established that Vlasic and Krizic had constant contacts with the most sinister Ustasha underground, even with those proclaimed to be war criminals, with the members of emigre organizations, those same ones which have been sending individuals and groups for subversive activities, sabotage and terrorism, and other criminal activities against our country and its citizens.

Which emigres are we referring to?

Brother Lucijan Kordic is a sworn enemy of Yugoslavia, and Ustasha ideologist during the war, now an emigre in Zurich, one of the founders of the emigre publishing house Ziral, well known for its hostile content, and the author of a large number of pamphlets against the SFKY. It is this same Kordic who has been glorified in NASA OGNJISTA: a favorable article was published on the occasion of Ziral's 10th anniversary, and there was also a separate article on the "greatness" of this inveterate Ustasha emigre along with his photograph. He expressed his warm gratitude in a letter from Zurich, offering his own suggestions as to the editing of the newspaper, accompanied by his good wishes that NASA OGNJISTA would fulfill its task with the greatest success. We know what kind of task he was referring to--a mission aimed against the greatest achievements of our socialist revolution. It is evident from the subsequent correspondence that Kordic and Vlasic agreed that Brother Lucijan would use a pseudonym in NASA OGNJISTA.

A link was also established and maintained with Milenko Barbaric, an emigre in the United States of America, a member of the emigre organization Croatian Liberation Movement (HOP), who was also an Ustasha during World War II; Josip Kasic, priest, emigre in Australia, a member of the terrorist organization Croatian Revolutionary Brotherhood who has participated in sending terrorist groups into our country; Ivan Jolic, an emigre in Canada, a member of the HOP and the Croatian Revolutionary Alliance (HRS), master of ceremonies of the radio program entitled "Dr Ante Pavelic" in Toronto; Berto Dragicevic, a Catholic brother, who during the war was an Ustasha commander, a well-known war criminal, and an emigre in Canada; Grga Raspudic, Catholic brother, author of several pamphlets against Yugoslavia, who is now living in Chicago and whose article was published in the anniversary issue of NASA OGNJISTA; Ivan Bradvic, member of the HOP and a founder of the "Stepinac" emigre organization in Montreal; Stipe Bagaric, an emigre in Sydney [Australia], a member of the HOP as well as the HRS [Croatian Revolutionary Brotherhood], and so on. Some of these names, together with 10 or so names of other Ustasha emigres, were published in NASA OGNJISTA in a list of donors, that is, of those who were financing its publication and its hostile activity against our country with their money contributions. Dollars, marks,

francs and other currencies were received by the editors, and welcome they were, since obviously both the donors and the editors of NASA OGNJISTA had the same goals.

Vlasic's "Pilgrimages"

When all this is borne in mind, then it is no accident at all that Ferdo Vlasic also had links with the previously known nationalists and "mass movement" figures Vlado Gotovac, Franjo Tudjman and others. Tudjman's written defense at a recent trial in Zagreb was even found in Vlasic's possession, which best illustrates the tie-up between them.

Once we are aware of these things, Vlasic's efforts to organize "excursions," "entertainment" and "pilgrimages" for young people are clearly exposed. One such pilgrimage was devoted to a visit to the graves of certain priests who as members of Ustasha military units and as collaborators of the occupiers died in armed combat against units of the National Liberation Army during the mopping up operations in the final liberation of our country. In addition, Vlasic and Krizic have been visiting area schools and exerting pressures on teachers to postpone regular instruction in order to teach "religion," and among other things they distributed NASA OGNJISTA to the children. Note was also taken of several of Vlasic's attempts to give "advice" to members of the League of Communists concerning invigoration of religion.

Vlasic also confirmed his other hostile activity in Medjugorje, where he has been helping Brother Jozo Zovko in "pointing out the Madonna." Vlasic has also come into conflict with members of law enforcement agencies, reacted arrogantly, insulted our system and threatened a physical attack on policemen, for which he was sentenced at the time to 50 days in prison, and thereafter another 60 days in prison because he hindered law enforcement officers in conduct of their official duties. When we add to this that Ferdo Vlasic was sentenced back in 1952 to 16 years in prison for crimes against the people and the state, then the portrait of this sinister man is more complete.

Pamphlets in Toronto

Jozo Krizic, secretary of the board of editors of NASA OGNJISTA, who shares Vlasic's opinions and is his closest collaborator, prepared for the priesthood in the Federal Republic of Germany. Immediately upon graduating from the seminary in 1978, he was chosen by Vlasic and appointed secretary of this newspaper. There is no need to guess about who has exerted the decisive influence on Krizic and what aside from the priesthood he was trained for abroad.

Back in the latter half of 1979 Vlasic prepared and sent Krizic to Canada and the United States on behalf of NASA OGNJISTA on the invitation of Ustasha emigre organizations there, so as to check out "on the spot" what had been written in correspondence. There across the ocean Krizic was welcomed as "one of their own" by the Ustasha extremists Danijel Crijen, Ivo Jolic, Jozo Mihalj, Marinko Sopta and others, who put themselves at his service. In their company the secretary of NASA OGNJISTA visited several cities in Canada and the United States, performed masses, and made hostile statements against the SFRY in sermons delivered

in church and in speeches delivered in Ustasha clubs. He sought and obtained financial aid for his newspaper in which, he promised, to write how "fighters for a free Croatia abroad" live and "how they are preparing to liberate Croatia."

During his visit in Toronto Krizic also participated in a meeting of emigres gathered together on the farm of the Croatian emigre club "Croatia." From a stage which was "decorated" with fascist symbols, Krizic, following Jolic and Crljen, delivered a speech in which among other things he said that "life is hard in Croatia, the power is in the hands of the Serbian hegemonists, and the liberation of Croatia is looked forward to"--and so on in the same style, full of lies, odious and chauvinistic. That same evening he delivered a speech of similar content in the club "Croatia."

Condemnation of Cleronationalism

NASA OGNJISTA, then, has been pursuing the goals of the extremist Ustasha emigre community, which is guided by the most inveterate opponents of our country. That is why the indictment against Vlasic and Krizic was full of arguments. It also stated that the editors of this religious newspaper had adopted the following messages: from Kasic (to the effect that "we are one and should be exclusively one and nothing more" and "the religious front should be united against the antifront"); from Bradvic (to the effect that "our newspaper NASA OGNJISTA rally everyone together"); and that of Jolic (to the effect that "if there is more belief in God and in our Croatian people, the poskok [highly aggressive and poisonous snake] will not lie on the slab of Ante's [Pavelic's] grave" and "we will remain industrious and aware until the new revival of our freedom").

It is said of Lucijan Kordic, a well-known Ustasha, that he is a "Croatian poet," accompanied by the note of the editors that "so long as we have such missionaries, we will not fear for our future."

During the investigation and in the court Vlasic and Krizic became "forgetful," "ingenuous" and "ignorant." But their attempts to deny irrefutable facts were not successful, there were too many arguments, too much material evidence and too many witnesses which unambiguously expose their hostile activity. They were not tried as priests, as some would like to present it, but as enemies of Yugoslavia, just as have been tried or will be tried all those who work to undermine our SFRY, which is based on brotherhood, equality, self-management and nonalignment, regardless of what profession they are in.

So, such individuals exist even in the ranks of the priests in our country, people who by abusing their calling as priests have among other things tried to foment dissent and religious and ethnic enmity among our nationalities and ethnic minorities. Their colleagues, however, in meetings of clerical associations in Montar and Sarajevo, have said that people like Vlasic, Zovko and Krizic only cause them harm and condemned such hostile activity against our society. These cases have also been examined in many meetings in the Socialist Alliance, especially in the Duvno and Citluk opstinas, and in them religious believers and atheists declared their opposition to the misuse of religion for political purposes, condemning such behavior by these Catholic brothers and the religious

newspaper NASA OGNJISTA and those individuals in other religious communities who have also made use of religious services to attack the greatest achievements of the National Liberation War and the socialist revolution.

All of this, as well as certain other cases we have written about, indicate how far individuals are ready to go as participants in hostile activity against our country and its fundamental values. However, our working people and citizens, regardless of whether they are believers or atheists, have made a clear declaration in their reaction that there is no place for this kind of behavior in our communities. Although the enemy operates perfidiously, the hearing of our people has now been made acute for rapid recognition of hostile tendencies and those responsible for them and will effectively oppose them through the system of defense and protection.

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TENANTS, OWNERS OF HOUSING ARGUE OVER DRAFT LEGISLATION

Zagreb *STAV* in Serbo-Croatian No 332, 10 Oct 81 pp 10-11, 83

[Article by Ratko Boskovic: "Democracy at the Door of the Apartment"]

[Text] It seems almost as though a new political party were being created in Yugoslavia: the "Tenant's Party" or perhaps the "Landlord's Party." The reference is to a group of individuals organized around a common position concerning one of the most important social issues. And an interest group, when it systematically advocates a position of this kind, grows to become a political party.

Very rarely has our public been so fiercely aroused as after recent publication of the "Proposed Version of the Draft of the New Law on Housing Relations." Passions have flared up because of the changes which the new law would make in relations between the owners of private apartments and houses toward their tenants, those who hold the right of tenancy in those apartments and houses. In short: under the present law it is possible for an owner to make his apartment vacant by evicting the tenant provided that the tenant's housing conditions are not essentially worsened thereby. But under the new law, the owner could move his tenant to any housing unit which suits the tenant and his family with respect to floor area and the number of rooms. In essence the purpose of these changes would be to introduce into "private" housing relations the criteria which apply in allocation of "socially owned" housing.

The reaction has been tempestuous: embittered tenants have buried the newspapers in an avalanche of letters. Why? Because they see the proposed version of the law as a threat to their own vital rights? Owners of housing, foaming at the mouth, have been answering that this merely corrects the injustice they have suffered for long years.

Thus a profound social conflict previously unknown to the general public has broken to the surface with full force. Its true weight was known only by the courts, on whose shelves there lie thousands of suits between tenants and landlords, suits which involved thousands of family dramas and even tragedies.

But in this "war of letters," two letter writers have aroused particular attention: the Association of Tenants of Privately Owned Apartments and Houses in the City of Zagreb, and its mirror image the Republic Association of Owners of those same apartments and buildings.

We have not until recently been accustomed to aggressiveness of this kind. After all, what sort of group of citizens is it whose "constant complaints and petitions" bring about a change in the Law on Housing Relations itself, as is stated in the supporting argument for amendment of that law?

The right of tenancy came about in the postwar years of scarcity as an application of the principle of socialist solidarity in the entire policy of the new Yugoslavia, so therefore in housing policy as well, as the only possible way at that time of solving the huge housing problems when the rich owners of several dwellings had been disenfranchised. For 40 years those who held the right to tenancy and their families assumed that they had solved their housing problem permanently, and that status of theirs was guaranteed by law. After means of production, the dwelling is today the most valuable social resource, and that is why socialist legal principles, among which the right of tenancy is basic, are enforced most consistently in housing relations.

How is it, then, that some association of private individuals publicly and fiercely advocate that that principle be abolished? Is it also fighting to abolish other fundamental socialist principles which are indissolubly bound up with recognition of the right of tenancy? Might this association be some counterrevolutionary bourgeois party?

In the meantime tenants and their association have achieved their first partial victory. Following the debates in the newspapers, in the belligerent mood created in the public (incidentally, these are categories which in our context are difficult to assess from a political standpoint), before the proposed version of the new law reached the stage of public debate, the proponent of the law soon toned down the basic position which brought about the conflict: only those landlords (or their heirs) who were owners of the property before nationalization will have the "right to evict a tenant." In other words, people will not qualify who purchased an apartment which could not be occupied, people who now wish to enrich themselves overnight. The purpose of this ad hoc measure, which is typical of us, was to prevent possible abuses which tenants had warned about.

If the landlords' association has only partially brought about an amendment of the Law on Housing Relations, and if the tenants' association has succeeded in just 20 days or so, before the public debate began, in radically altering the law by exerting its influence, then these are two very powerful institutions!

The association of tenants of privately owned dwellings in the city of Zagreb, whose headquarters are at 3 Bosanska Ulica, "came into being as a reaction to the existing association of landlords, who had been haranguing against the legislation on the books," the secretary of the association says. It was established by a group of citizens in a founding assembly in 1972. Today it has several hundred members who regard themselves as representatives of the 15,000 holders of the right of tenancy in the city and suburbs. There are similar tenants' associations in Rijeka and Split. Incidentally, there are 53,779 such tenants in Croatia (according to the results of the 1970 Census) and about 175,000 in Yugoslavia.

When we were in the offices of the tenants' association, only a few elderly citizens were there at the time. Meetings are held once a week. One gets the general impression that this is a club of lonely elderly people and not any significant social force. Their program is this: to defend the interests of tenants of privately owned dwellings before the authorities. How? By grievances. But do they also influence the government in some informal way, with the help of acquaintances, friends or influential relatives? "No," the secretary of the association answered resolutely, "though if someone has problems with a landlord, and if he knows someone who has influence, he will certainly complain...."

The secretary does not personally have any problems at all; he regards his position as secretary of the association a civil obligation urged upon him by his socialist views which he has held since he was young as well as by the feeling that tenants are being found guilty of something which they did not bring about: "These housing problems began back in 1941, during the period of the Ustasha terror, when Jews, Serbs and many others in Zagreb were no longer able to freely dispose of the dwellings they owned...."

The association of tenants in privately owned dwellings and the association of owners of those dwellings are two typical sociopolitical groups endeavoring to realize their goals by concerted action, by influencing centers of political power. Their emergence is an important political phenomenon because the reason for their political activity is antagonism related to very profound social foundations: man's basic need for housing, a need which is not easy to satisfy in our society, which is not all that rich.

Aside from that, property and ownership have always been the most potent sources of discord and conflicts of differing interests. The conflict between landlords and tenants involves only 10 percent of the housing stock, but this still carries over to the mental outlook of every person "tragically stretched between the natural necessity to be civic minded and egocentric needs to merely use that civic-mindedness to build one's own private world" (J. Miric: "Interesne grupe i politicka moc" [Special-Interest Groups and Political Power]). Should we add to this that the issue of ownership is a fundamental issue in any political system?

Many "bourgeois" political scientists are almost unanimous in their belief that the freedom of groups to form and carry on activity is the heart of democracy. There are those who think that the freedom to create groups is more important than all other political freedoms, though there are also people who believe that democracy is guaranteed by norms and the system of institutions which express the general will. It is obvious that even the mere existence, but even more the freedom of public and open action--that is, freedom of political activity on the part of the tenants' association and the landlords' association--shows the high degree of democracy of our society and is confirmation of the view that Yugoslavia's political system is not based on a fictitious premise concerning a unity of interests.

Thus acceptance of the existence of differing interests and carrying them over into the sphere of politics does not constitute a tacit acceptance of any deviant

situation or behavior, but is the natural pattern of our political system. "The normal state of society is not harmony, but constant conflicts of interest. These interests do not disappear with the development of socialist society, but their number on the contrary increases. The higher the level of a society's economic and social development, the greater the degree of its differentiation, and that accounts for the increasing number of potential conflicts among individuals and social groups" (Miric).

Though they symbolize such important principles, the members of the landlords' association, though something else might have been expected, give the impression of a group of pensioners devoted to chess. Its offices are at 3 Masiceva Ulica in Zagreb, and the association has 1,884 members who pay a token rent--for the space and to cover the electricity. By contrast with the city tenants' association, the landlords' association is at the republic level, with a chapter in Split (committees in Rijeka and Dubrovnik have been dwindling, so that only individual "delegates" arrive from there for meetings).

The landlords are better organized and more enterprising than the tenants. But there is not the frenetic activity the tenants warned us of. Only an immoderate word here and there and signs of an anger indicative of the depth of the conflict and the value of the property in dispute. The tenants also warned us about landlords who pay lawyers between 5 and 10 million and tell them: "Make my apartment vacant any way you can" (since this is profitable for them: a vacant apartment is worth as much as 150 million), but they speak as though they are not members of that association.

The landlords tell us about their tenants who do not want to vacate the apartment "which is not theirs," though they have built real villas in the neighborhood (the words are backed up by photographs). They also tell about tenants who for a long time have not been living in their apartments, but have registered minor children so as not to lose the right of tenancy; about fictitious exchanges of apartments and sales of the right of tenancy; about threats and blackmail; about landlords living in housing not fit for human beings though they are the owner of apartments which they may not enter; about how the problems are already being passed on to the younger generations....

They also complained about the courts and SIZ's [self-managing community of interest], they spoke about their ties with similar associations in other republics and about efforts to abolish the "private" housing front once and for all together with the right of tenancy. In every sentence they appealed to their socialist convictions.

These people obviously believe in socialism and its institutions (since it is to them that they appeal). They believe that their feelings as landlords are not something unfamiliar to socialism. Both of the associations, it seems, do indeed avoid noninstitutional ways of influencing forums and the public, and they do not wish to become any sort of "pressure groups" fighting with political abuses. But though they have an elaborate system of social values--and thereby a rudimentary ideology as well, a clear tactics and strategy concerning one of the most important social questions, one which is bound up with a number of political consequences, and though they have legalized associations, the republic

association of owners of apartments and houses and the association of tenants in private apartments and houses in the city of Zagreb are a very weak social force. It is somehow difficult to believe that these are actually those landlords whose "frequent inquiries and petitions" account for amendment of the Law on Housing Relations. These civic associations are more an embellishment of our political system than a real part of it.

Though the landlords' association has existed since back in 1972, its members have never had occasion for a full-fledged visit and talk with any representative of any public organization. Their activity does not go beyond grievances, petitions, pulling people by the sleeve and importunity. The republic committee for construction and municipal service affairs, which is the sponsor of the new law, seems not to know that there exists any group of citizens which has devoted 40 years of debate to the topic covered by the law, consuming in the process enough nervous energy for several thousand entire lifetimes. These individuals learned about the proposed adoption of a new law on housing relations from the newspapers.

The tenants' association is in a similar position (though the members of each of the associations believe that that other association is the cause of every evil). Grievances and suits before constitutional courts, assemblies at all levels and dozens of various commissions have gone from one desk to another for decades now. The Socialist Alliance keeps orderly statistics on these associations.

So who, then, are the landlords "whose constant questions and grievances" led to instituting procedure to amend the law? While on the basis of "all extra-institutional initiatives and activities we can follow the process of transformation of our political system from a rigid and closed regime into an increasingly open and more democratic system of a plurality of interests" (Miric), specific examples leave us rather confused both as to practice and theory, and the general interest is not created by an actual unification and reconciliation of the interests and needs of all the participants in some activity, but by the logic of bureaucratic intermediation.

Unfortunately, the epilogue of the story about the right of tenancy, which for some 30 years has been ignored on the basis of that same logic, is a sad one. The proposed version of the law we have received is full of shortcomings and contradictions, and it is unacceptable both to private landlords and to tenants. It has given us a belligerent public debate which has diverted attention from the real problems of housing policy, those problems which concern associated labor, socially owned housing units and the catastrophic situation in public housing construction. Moreover, the debate has been conducted by the wrong people, and the right people, the organized socialist forces, have been waiting for the formal public debate. In spite of the good intentions of eradicating disagreements and unsocialist principles from society, what we have achieved is many new back doors by which those principles can find their way into society.

In conclusion, instead of harmonious unification of the needs of the two social groups--between which there does exist a potentially dangerous social antagonism--we have gotten new feelings of the old legal insecurity, new antagonisms, new interests, and the climate for creation of new belligerent groups. Instead of a debate of the program for abolishing ownership, the debate that has come to the foreground concerns affirmation of the landlord's ideology of the egoism of that real extra-institutional power which has this time hidden behind legal associations of people whose personal need to resolve housing problems cannot be denied.

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